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New York

President:	Mr. Denisov	(Russian Federation)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Angola	Mr. Lucas
	Benin	Mr. Zinsou
	Brazil	Mr. Valle
	Chile	Mr. Muñoz
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	France	Mr. Duclos
	Germany	Mr. Trautwein
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Philippines	Mr. Baja
	Romania	Mr. Dumitru
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. King
	United States of America	Mr. Holliday

Agenda

The situation in Timor-Leste

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (S/2004/669)

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04-46742 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Timor-Leste

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (S/2004/669)

The President (*spoke in Russian*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Australia, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal and Timor-Leste, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Guterres (Timor-Leste) took a seat at the Council table; the representatives of the other aforementioned countries took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Hédi Annabi, Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Annabi to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2004/669, which contains the progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Hédi Annabi, Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations. I now give him the floor.

Mr. Annabi: I am pleased to introduce to the Security Council the first progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET) (S/2004/669) since the extension of UNMISET's mandate for a consolidation phase on 20 May this year. UNMISET has now been downsized following the modification of its mandate, and the Government of Timor-Leste has assumed responsibilities for external and internal security since 20 May. I am happy to report that, except for a few minor incidents, the situation in Timor-Leste remained stable and largely peaceful during the reporting period.

The demonstration that took place on 19 and 20 July raised some concern. While the reconciliatory initiatives taken by President Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão and Prime Minister Mari Alkatiri immediately following the incident have helped to defuse the situation, it is symptomatic of the underlying tensions in Timorese society. Veterans, along with former combatants, are among the groups that feel marginalized and neglected. Remedial measures should be taken to address those concerns.This was also the conclusion of the day-long national dialogue on unity, peace and development organized by President Xanana Gusmão's Office last Saturday, 21 August, with the encouragement of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sukehiro Hasegawa, and with support from UNMISET and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

Progress is being made towards formulating a policy on veterans. The National Parliament is currently considering the report of the President's commissions on veterans and ex-combatants. It is essential that legislation on this matter be expedited and action taken to implement both short-term measures and long-term projects to address their needs for respect and recognition as well as other grievances. Bilateral and multilateral assistance will be required to implement concrete projects to address the most deserving and the most needy cases, including those who participated in the independence struggle from the outset as well as their widows and orphans. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General has urged all parties, including Timorese institutions of

State sovereignty and civil society groups, such as the associations of veterans and former combatants, to reach a consensus and present concrete projects to the development partners at the earliest possible juncture. UNMISET will maintain regular and close contact with all concerned to facilitate their efforts.

The recent resurgence of fights between martial arts groups is worrisome, even though there does not seem to be any evidence of political motivations behind these incidents. Four serious incidents have taken place in the last ten days, from Viqueque and Baucau in the eastern part of the country to Ainaro and Ermera in the west of the country. UNMISET has urged the Government to develop a legal framework for the activities of those groups and channel their energies into more constructive endeavours. However, socio-economic development and the creation of employment opportunities will remain essential to tackle the root causes of those problems.

Those events have also underlined the continued need for the promotion of a culture of political dialogue. It is heartening that the Government has resumed its Open Governance Programme, which had been suspended since the beginning of the year. The national dialogue, held on 21 August, was also a good example of the commitment of the people of Timor-Leste and their leaders to a culture of broad-based, participatory decision-making seeking to resolve all issues through discussion, compromise and consensus.

With regard to the function of the democratic process, the smooth conduct of the registration of voters for Timor-Leste's first elections since independence is also an encouraging development. Some 400,000 people have registered for elections of village chiefs and village-level bodies. We also commend the Government for taking steps towards establishing the legal and institutional frameworks for important Government institutions through the adoption of key legislation.

The law to establish the Office of the Provedor for Human Rights and Justice, provided for under the Constitution, was promulgated in May. However, the appointment of the Provedor by the National Parliament has been delayed since none of the three candidates who came forward could obtain the required majority in the two rounds of balloting held on 16 and 17 August. The process has now been reopened for nominations, and it is hoped that the National Parliament will be able to select a candidate after it reconvenes from recess on 15 September. The timely establishment of the Office of the Provedor would enable UNMISET to assist its development during the remaining months of the Mission's mandate.

While Timor-Leste is making steady progress towards achieving self-sufficiency, it will continue for some time to require international assistance — both financial and human resources — to implement the legislation it has adopted and to enhance the effectiveness of key institutions of State and Government. The flow of revenues from energy resources will be a key factor. In that context, reports of the agreement at the recent meeting between Foreign Minister Ramos-Horta and the Foreign Minister of Australia, Mr. Alexander Downer, on a framework for negotiations are encouraging.

Since the Secretary-General's last report to the Security Council, progress has been made on the finalization of the land border between Timor-Leste and Indonesia. Agreement on 90 per cent of the border has largely been achieved, and it is expected that agreement will be reached at the political level on the remaining 10 per cent in the coming weeks, as indicated by Foreign Minister Mr. Ramos-Horta and Indonesian Foreign Minister Mr. Wirayuda following their recent meeting on 15 August. We hope that this process can be completed expeditiously.

I would like now to refer to the progress made in the three programme areas of UNMISET's mandate. With regard to the 58 civilian advisers to be provided for the most critical positions in public administration, UNMISET has now completed the recruitment process with the participation of the Government. Thus far, 51 of those 58 advisers have been deployed in the field, an additional four advisers will be deployed next month, and a decision by the Government on the three remaining positions is awaited.

As for the 102 critical posts — as they are referred to — that are to be funded bilaterally, regrettably, resources have been received for only half of that number. Support from the international community for those positions will therefore be crucial. On the whole, the public administration still lacks experienced and skilled personnel, in particular mid-level managers to perform substantive and supervisory functions. This also impedes the delegation of authority to appropriate levels and the decentralization of public

services. It is incumbent on the Government to recruit the counterparts of the advisers as expeditiously as possible if they are to benefit from the advisers' expertise and skills in the remaining months of UNMISET's mandate.

The civilian advisers have been informed of the importance of preparing and implementing exit strategies. They will focus on institutional capacity development through well-targeted, formalized training programmes. Fostering a culture of transparency, accountability and respect for human rights will be among their tasks.

The justice sector continues to be affected by a shortage of qualified personnel and limited infrastructure, which has contributed in turn to a continued backlog of cases, detentions on expired warrants and violations of human rights. Nevertheless, progress has been achieved. The number of detainees held on expired warrants has been considerably reduced after a judicial review by the President of the Court of Appeal following a formal request from the Special Representative.

UNMISET is also providing 15 advisers out of the 58 most critical positions in the justice sector, including judges for the district courts. It is hoped that with their assistance and the contributions of bilateral donors and other agencies, such as the UNDP, the system can be made more functional.

The serious crimes process in Dili has made progress in prosecuting perpetrators of serious crimes committed in 1999. However, many of the indicted persons are still outside Timor-Leste and have not been brought to justice. As reflected in the last report of the Secretary-General, the serious crimes process may not be able to fully respond to the desires for justice of those affected by the violence in 1999 within the limited time frame and resources that remain available. We look forward to continuing our discussion with the Security Council on the way forward for dealing with this issue before the completion of UNMISET's mandate in May 2005.

The UNMISET police component has continued to assist the national police service, the Policia Nacional de Timor-Leste (PNTL), to develop into a professional and impartial police service through mentoring and monitoring, while seeking to coordinate UNMISET's efforts with other bilateral and multilateral assistance programmes. The police component has prepared a skills development plan for the PNTL based on a needs assessment of areas in which continued assistance is required. The focus is on training the trainers. The PNTL has assumed all operational policing responsibilities since 20 May. The response of PNTL to the recent violence between martial arts groups in four different parts of the country has been largely adequate.

However, the PNTL continues to cope with problems such as insufficient professional skills and misconduct. Although corrective measures have been taken, more needs to be done. At UNMISET's suggestion, the Government has established a high-level body of ministers to examine the allegations related to abuses and violations of human rights of demonstrators and bystanders in Dili on 20 July. Swift and exemplary action after due process and diligent investigation of complaints would strengthen the morale and image of the PNTL.

Meanwhile, the response of the anti-riot rapid intervention unit to the 19 and 20 July demonstrations in Dili also suggested the importance of further training for this particular unit. After the incident, Prime Minister Alkatiri formally requested the Special Representative to ensure that further instruction is offered to the PNTL, particularly in the areas of leadership and command and control, with a view to redressing the deficiencies identified on that occasion.

Human rights training will constitute an integral part of this process. The training began on 9 August with the involvement of trainers and middle and senior commanders of the anti-riot rapid intervention unit, to ensure capacity development and sustainability of the training process even after completion of UNMISET's mandate. UNMISET's police component continues to train other special units of the PNTL. The second phase of training for the police reserve unit, formerly known as the rapid deployment service, began on 21 June. Eighty-four PNTL officers are being trained by UNMISET police trainers over a nine-week period. While the basic training of the police reserve unit was completed on 23 August, it is estimated that at least three more months of extensive in-service training and supervision will be required.

I am happy to report that since the assumption of responsibility for external security by the Government of Timor-Leste, the security situation in the border districts, and indeed in all of Timor-Leste, has

generally been calm and peaceful. The majority of the personnel of UNMISET's reduced military component are deployed in the western border districts, while one platoon of the international response unit is deployed in Dili. As reflected in the Secretary-General's report (S/2004/669), UNMISET's military component continues to facilitate contacts between the security forces of Timor-Leste and Indonesia. The military liaison officers continue to monitor security-related developments along the border. A military liaison arrangement between UNMISET and the Indonesian security forces was signed on 24 June.

UNMISET's military component has also made efforts to foster close collaboration between the Timorese national security forces. Regular meetings with both the Timorese defence forces and the police have been held to discuss issues related to the security and stability of the country. Development of the defence forces, which continue to suffer from a lack of experience and skilled personnel, proper training and equipment and a very limited logistical capability for deployment, will continue to depend on external support through the provision of equipment and training.

In conclusion, let me say that while progress has been made in all areas of UNMISET's mandate, much remains to be done. UNMISET will strive to achieve as much as possible in the remaining months of its mandate. At the same time, Timor-Leste will have to work closely with other multilateral and bilateral partners to meet its continuing requirements beyond May 2005. The situation will be reviewed later this year with a view to determining whether modifications can be made to the mission's size, composition and tasks. This review, which will take place in October, will be based on the prevailing security situation and the extent of progress made towards reaching the threshold of self-sufficiency by key institutions of State and Government in Timor-Leste.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): I thank Mr. Annabi for his briefing.

Mr. Muñoz (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): I wish first of all to express my thanks for the report of the Secretary-General of 13 August (S/2004/669) on Timor-Leste and the briefing from the Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, Mr. Hedi Annabi, who has given us some information on the latest developments in the country. I also wish to commend the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and UNMISET for the work that they achieved in these first few months of the new mandate pursuant to resolution 1543 (2004).

We are encouraged to know that, in spite of the existing limitations, resolute steps have been taken forward in this consolidation phase. In particular, we welcome the fact that the Government has officially undertaken responsibility for the internal and external security of the country, adopting a number of fundamental laws and taking steps in the area of electoral registration.

As regards UNMISET's functioning, we would like to highlight three key aspects. With respect to the first programme element, we hail the improvements in the capacity and structure of public administration. However, we concur that, in addition to having civil servants prepared for leadership roles, the right personnel must be available for middle management posts. There is no doubt that the structure and development of public administration in Timor-Leste still presents us with significant challenges that must be taken into consideration.

The work done by UNMISET's civilian advisors in the instruction and training of civil servants of Timor-Leste is essential. I would like to stress that, notwithstanding the existing limitations, Timor-Leste has a unique opportunity to train public officials who are dedicated to public service and will also be models of rectitude and probity.

We share the concern about the lengthy delays in the administration of justice and the lack that we perceive in the area of human rights in terms of procedure, and we agree with the need to develop capacities in this area. In this context, we welcome the new measures taken by the coordinating council for the judicial system.

We would also like to underscore that in May, a delegation of representatives of the countries from the convening group of the Community of Democracies, made up of Chile, the Republic of Korea, Portugal and the United States, in addition to Australia, Cape Verde, Italy, New Zealand and Israel, visited Timor-Leste. On that occasion, they met with the highest political, judicial and parliamentary authorities, as well as civil society. They also visited several cities in order to assess the most urgent needs with regard to institutional rebuilding and the state of the judicial, social and

electoral systems. At the same time, the delegation identified areas in which the Community of Democracies, over which Chile currently has the honour to preside, could provide cooperation and support. Next September, in just a few weeks, the United States and Portugal will issue a follow-up report to that visit.

In the sphere of human rights, we welcome the assistance provided by UNMISET through the Serious Crimes Unit in an effort to shed light on the crimes committed in 1999. We also wish to highlight the strategy put forward to process, before May 2005, all the arrest warrants issued against indicted persons whose cases have not yet gone before a tribunal. We must keep in mind that it is likely that that work will not be completed by the scheduled date, and that we should therefore not discount the possibility of taking additional measures in the future if necessary.

In the same vein, we especially appreciate the work being done by the Commission on Reception, Truth and Reconciliation. We look forward with interest to its final report and recommendations on additional activities, which the Commission will issue towards the end of October.

With regard to programme II, we particularly welcome the work done by the national police, as Mr. Annabi has highlighted. We note that its 3,020 personnel are already carrying out their work in every district of the country. Moreover, we believe it essential to continue to support the training of the Border Patrol Unit. Despite the progress made, we agree that the national police should continue its training, in particular with regard to achieving greater professionalism, efficiency and responsibility, with strong emphasis on respect for human rights. We also note the work done by UNMISET's political component in providing training, education and supervision for the national police of Timor-Leste.

With regard to programme III, concerning the maintenance of security, we welcome the fact that the situation in the country has been fairly calm. However, we should not overlook certain areas where there is instability, such as smuggling, illegal trafficking and border crossings and the demonstrations that have taken place in Dili, as Mr. Annabi has also noted. In that regard, we believe that the provisions of resolution 1543 (2004) thus far appear to have proved appropriate and reasonable.

Lastly, another key challenge in attaining stability in Timor-Leste is to achieve a level of economic development that makes it possible to overcome poverty, create jobs, improve the well-being of the population and attain the social and economic success that the country desires. In that connection, we wish to highlight the assistance programmes being carried out by the United Nations, the Bretton Woods institutions and several donor countries. However, it is clear to us that even more support from the international community is necessary to tackle, among other things, the lack of employment, the low level of development and poverty. In that regard, we hope there will be greater progress in exploiting the country's mineral resources. I am certain that many countries can provide assistance in that area, including mine.

We welcome the cooperation that exists between Timor-Leste and Indonesia. We are pleased at the willingness shown to achieve an agreement on the territorial borders, as well as at the progress that Mr. Annabi has just spoken of. We hope that a definitive agreement will soon be reached, which we are certain will have a very significant impact on improving bilateral relations. We also hope that progress will continue to be made in other important areas of bilateral relations. In particular, we hope that those responsible for serious crimes committed in 1999 will be held accountable for their actions.

Finally, we also wish to commend the valuable work done by other regional actors and by donors from the international community. Chile, which has stood by Timor-Leste from the outset and which contributed troops in the early stages, hopes that this young country will become an international model of success and hope.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): I would like to join others in thanking Assistant Secretary-General Hédi Annabi for his excellent introduction of the report of the Secretary-General (S/2004/669) and for updating the Council on the situation in Timor-Leste.

Timor-Leste has made remarkable progress since its independence over two years ago. We commend the Government of Timor-Leste for the achievements it has attained despite difficult circumstances. We also appreciate the efforts of the Timorese leadership to promote national reconciliation and to heal the deep wounds of the past, both the internal and external.

Pakistan supports the efforts of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET)

to strengthen peace and assist institutional development in Timor-Leste. We welcome the progress made by UNMISET in the three programme areas where it is mandated to support the Government — namely, first, public administration and the justice system, as well as justice in the area of serious crimes; secondly, the development of law enforcement; and, thirdly, security and stability in Timor-Leste. Those are critical tasks in assisting the country in this crucial period of institution-building. However, we agree with the observation made in the report of the Secretary-General that

> "UNMISET can meet only the most urgent requirements [and that] [c]omplementary bilateral efforts to strengthen Timorese public administration, law enforcement agencies and armed forces are essential for Timorese counterparts to achieve the necessary capability in an orderly and sustainable manner." (*S/2004/669, para. 46*)

Pakistan believes that the continued support of the neighbours of Timor-Leste is vital in that context. The development of close and friendly relations between Timor-Leste and Indonesia is, of course, of vital importance and in the best interest of both countries. We welcome the efforts by both sides to improve their bilateral relations. We call on them to continue to work in a constructive manner in order to resolve their outstanding problems, in particular on the demarcation and management of their common land border. We hope that Timor-Leste's other neighbours can also resolve their bilateral issues with this emerging country, in order to allow it to attain its true economic potential. In that context, we attach high importance to the early finalization of the maritime boundary between Timor-Leste and Australia and on the sharing of petroleum and natural gas resources in the region, resources that are so badly needed for Timor-Leste's immediate and long-term economic and social development.

In conclusion, I would like to share the optimism expressed in the report of the Secretary-General on the progress made by Timor-Leste on the road to what is called self-sufficiency.

However, as the report states,

> "it is clear that much remains to be accomplished during the remaining months of the UNMISET mandate and that the extent of its progress will depend upon joint efforts by Timor-Leste, UNMISET and the international community". (*S/2004/669, para. 43*).

In our view, the long term stability and self-sufficiency of Timor-Leste must not be taken for granted. Without the necessary and sustained international assistance from the international community all the gains made in Timor-Leste could be in danger of reversal. To facilitate the transition from peace-making to peace-building it is important, in our view, at this stage for the appropriate involvement of all the organs of the United Nations and other elements of the international community — including the Breton Woods institutions and civil society — in assisting Timor-Leste.

In this regard, we should examine the possibility of setting up a composite committee with representation from the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly to coordinate and oversee international support for East Timor. At the very least, the Economic and Social Council should consider setting up a mechanism similar to the ones that have been created for Guinea-Bissau and Burundi for this purpose.

Mr. Danforth (United States): Thank you, Mr. President. We welcome the Secretary-General's latest report on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET) and thank Assistant Secretary-General Annabi for his presentation. We would also like to recognize the work of the Secretary-General's new Special Representative for UNMISET, Sukehiro Hasegawa and the Mission's progress towards helping the East Timor Government achieve self-sufficiency. In particular, we note with satisfaction the adoption of key legislation establishing legal and institutional legal frameworks in East Timor, progress and voter registration and establishment of the office of the Provedor for the Human rights and Justice.

While we applaud the progress made by the Government and the people of East Timor in the development of a civil administration, the East Timor administration continues to have limited capacity. It is critical that UNMISET advisers transfer skills to their East Timor counterparts before May 2005. In this context, we hope that the Government of East Timor appoints civil administrators, especially in the Treasury and the Banking and Payment Authority, as soon as feasible. The Government should also work to promulgate relevant laws, rules and regulations to guide the administration.

In his report the Secretary-General states that the justice sector continues to be confronted by a shortage of qualified personnel and limited infrastructure. We commend the work of UNMISET in helping to establish a judicial training centre that will help develop the human resources necessary for a functioning judiciary.

In the area of serious crimes, we remain concerned by the number of indicted individuals — 279 accused — assumed to be outside of East Timor and therefore outside the reach of the Serious Crimes Unit. As I emphasized to the Council last February, the human rights violations committed in East Timor in 1999 have not been forgotten and the process of accountability for those atrocities should achieve justice.

While outside the mandate of UNMISET, the recent rulings by an appeals court in Indonesia, in overturning four Ad Hoc Human Rights Tribunal convictions, directly impacts on the larger issue of achieving accountability. The decisions and the overall ad hoc tribunal process were seriously flawed and failed to provide a full and credible accounting for the abuses that occurred in East Timor in 1999. It is critical for the development of democratic institutions in both Indonesia and East Timor that there be some level of accountability for the 1999 atrocities. Given the limited jurisdiction of the Serious Crimes Unit and the failure of the Indonesian Ad Hoc Tribunal process, additional remedial measures may be required to achieve justice. We believe an independent international truth commission, composed of international experts, should be seriously considered as one option for accountability.

Finally, we are encouraged to hear that the security environment in East Timor remains stable. UNMISET should continue its training with East Timor's police and military in order to further develop Timorese capacity in the security sector. UNMISET will transfer responsibility for all aspects of security to the Timorese by May 2005 and, therefore, the Timorese national defence forces (F-FDTL) and the Policia Nacional de Timor-Leste (PNTL) must receive further training in order to address effectively all security threats. We appreciate the bilateral assistance provided by the United Kingdom and Australia in this regard as well as the hard work by our colleague here from East Timor who does a terrific job in representing his country's interests.

Mr. Abdallah Baali (Algeria): Thank you, Mr. President. I wish first to thank Mr. Hédi Annabi for his detailed briefing on the situation in Timor-Leste. My delegation welcomes the significant progress achieved in recent months by the Timorese people and Government with the support of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET). Very encouraging advances have been made in the preparation for upcoming local elections as well as in the development of the public administration justice and law enforcement systems.

The developments achieved in the area of security, in particular, the adoption of key laws in the sectors of police and defence are extremely positive. The local authorities are performing their commitments properly and the report is extremely positive in that regard. We are confident that Timor-Leste will continue to develop its own capacities and will shortly, with the support of the international community and UNMISET, be in a position to achieve self-sufficiency in the area of security.

Financial difficulties have continued in recent months to impede the rebuilding of infrastructure as well as the preparation for the elections, in particular, outside of the capital where the capacity of the regions in the area of administration and the justicial system is still low. If social stability and sustainable economic development are really to be achieved, the Government and people of Timor-Leste must step up their efforts. The constant support of the international community and donors will remain vital in that regard.

Unfortunately, the country's low income level and poverty continue to jeopardize Timor-Leste's reconstruction and development efforts. The income expected from petroleum and gas exploitation in the Timor Sea unfortunately have not been realized and progress in this area is absolutely essential if the country is to exploit fully its economic potential. In this regard, we hope that an agreement between Australia and Timor-Leste for the development of mineral resources in the Timor Sea — which will be in the interests of the two countries — will be concluded shortly.

We also welcome the continuing improvement in relations between the Governments of Timor-Leste and Indonesia and we are convinced that the two countries will continue to work together to resolve outstanding issues such as the delimitation and management of their common border as well as building further on their mutual cooperation.

The promotion of Timor-Leste's social and economic development by bilateral and multilateral donors will greatly assist in establishing the country's long-term stability. Therefore, the international community is duty bound to continue to provide substantial and consistent assistance to the development of Timor Leste and to participate in its economic reconstruction. We are confident that the Timorese people will continue to achieve success in their undertaking to build and secure the country's economic recovery.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): Thank you, Mr. President. I thank Assistant Secretary-General Mr. Hédi Annabi for his thorough and objective presentation of the Secretary-General's report on UNMISET. My delegation welcomes the report and shares the Secretary-General's assessments regarding progress made in Timor-Leste towards self-sufficiency, as well as his remarks about major challenges still to be overcome by the Timorese Government itself and by the international community and the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET) in fulfilling their roles and living up to expectations.

This is a mid-term report, and my delegation understands that we have good reason to believe that the completion of UNMISET's mandate in Timor-Leste will proceed as smoothly as possible. We are pleased to acknowledge that there has been an overall improvement in stability and in the security situation in the country, although smuggling, illegal trading and border-crossing continue to be causes of concern.

We welcome the significant steps being taken for the country's first elections since independence. Relevant progress has also been achieved in the areas of public administration and law enforcement. We believe that, with appropriate support from UNMISET — particularly from its civilian component — it should be possible to reach more positive results by May 2005.

Nonetheless, and in line with the Secretary-General's opinion, there is a series of pending issues that need to be addressed. The country will continue to be dependent on international assistance in order to reach its development goals. Thus, bilateral and multilateral support, in particular from international financial organizations, will be crucial for the future of Timor-Leste. We hope that such support will continue and that it will be properly managed in full cooperation between Timorese authorities and institutions on the one hand and their international partners on the other.

I am also pleased to acknowledge the Secretary-General's reference to the relationship between Timor-Leste's own capacity to generate sufficient national income and the development of sustainable national institutions, which will lead to stability and improved socio-economic conditions. In that regard, Brazil hopes that bilateral negotiations between Australia and Timor-Leste on the maritime boundaries, as well as negotiations with Indonesia regarding land boundaries, can soon be finalized in order to help the Timor-Leste Government, in the most effective way, to sustain stability and foster development.

As far as the fight against impunity is concerned, we encourage the international community to continue to provide support — particularly diplomatic and financial support — to the improvement of the judicial system in Timor-Leste, as well as to the work of the Commission on Reception, Truth and Reconciliation. We consider this to be an essential part of any process of democratic consolidation. The need to redress all cases of impunity and violations of human rights should not be limited to efforts, however praiseworthy, to act against those who committed the most serious crimes in 1999.

All perpetrators of crimes and violations of human rights, be they serious or minor, need to be punished in a new State such as Timor-Leste. My delegation takes this opportunity to call on all parties concerned — inside and outside Timor-Leste — the donor community and human rights organizations, as well as the Dili and Jakarta Governments, to make all possible efforts to build a culture of respect for human rights in this new nation, which will provide a solid basis for a democratic State and will accelerate its development process.

Mr. Duclos (France) (*spoke in French*): I too wish to thank Mr. Annabi for introducing the report of the Secretary-General (S/2004/669) and for his very useful update on the situation in Timor-Leste. We join others in hailing the work of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET). Moreover, we congratulate the people and the Government of Timor-Leste on the progress — in some respects, outstanding progress — they have made over the past few months. We note with interest the

measures towards enabling the Timor-Leste Government to shoulder responsibilities in the security area. We note too the progress on legislation in the administrative and justice areas. Also, like others, we have been following the measures taken to prepare for the holding of elections in accordance with the planned timetable. We welcome, for example, the beginning of the voter registration process.

There has been significant progress in other areas as well, including relations between Timor-Leste and its neighbours. Here, we join others in drawing attention to the importance of speedy agreement on the maritime boundaries with Australia and on the land border with Indonesia; those are matters that to some degree will define the country's economic development.

We are pleased with the functioning of UNMISET and support the observations made in the report of the Secretary-General and the suggestions that the representative of Chile offered earlier in today's meeting.

Looking to the future, we are well aware that much remains to be done. Here, I wish to draw the Council's attention to two matters. The first — to which others have already referred — is impunity, on which I associate myself with the comments made earlier by the representative of the United States with respect to some recent court decisions related to serious crimes committed in 1999. In that connection, let me ask Mr. Annabi whether he believes that the international community could take additional steps, and what they might be.

The second matter relates to preparing for the contribution that the international community will have to continue to make after the mandate of UNMISET expires. It is quite clear that there will be a need to devise structures in ongoing support of the efforts of the Timorese themselves for the development of their country. The representative of Pakistan offered several ideas in that regard; my delegation believes that it is important for all of us together to think along the lines he described.

Mr. King (United Kingdom): I would like to join others in thanking Assistant Secretary-General Annabi for his briefing this morning and in extending thanks to the Secretary-General for his report (S/2004/669), which provides a most useful update on progress towards the completion of the mandate of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET).

The United Kingdom associates itself with the statement that the representative of the Netherlands will make shortly on behalf of the European Union.

Like others, we are pleased to welcome the significant progress that has been made in a number of important areas. We commend the Government of Timor-Leste for its work and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and UNMISET for their efforts. We particularly welcome the support being provided for new measures needed to deal with problems in the justice sector, including the establishment of a judicial training centre. We also welcome the support for the Timorese police force following their assumption of full responsibility on 20 May, including the preparation of a skills development plan. We also commend UNMISET for its efforts to coordinate its assistance to the Timorese police with other bilateral assistance programmes such as, for example, the United Kingdom and Australian police training programme.

We welcome the continued progress of the Serious Crimes Unit as well as the work of the Commission on Reception, Truth and Reconciliation on the development of recommendations for policy and programmes. That said — and as noted in the Secretary-General's report — more needs to be done in a number of areas. We would particularly like to see further progress over the next few months in developing further capacity and structures in the public administration and also in developing further the capability of the armed forces.

Again, as the Secretary-General notes, the full cooperation of Member States remains important. Like others, we are disappointed about the recent overturning of convictions by the Ad Hoc Human Rights Tribunal of Indonesia in Jakarta and about the failure of the ad hoc tribunal process to deliver justice. The United Kingdom looks forward to working with the Secretary-General to devise a mechanism to ensure accountability for the serious crimes committed in 1999. We commend the continued efforts of Timor-Leste and Indonesia towards reaching agreement on the land border, and we hope that early progress will be made in finalizing arrangements for management of the border area.

We welcome UNMISET's plans to support Timor-Leste in resolving emerging issues as Timor-Leste moves towards self-sufficiency, thus helping to ensure a smooth end to UNMISET's remit. In that

respect, we look forward to the review of UNMISET later this year and to discussion of possible changes to the future tasking and responsibilities of UNMISET as needs and priorities evolve.

Mr. Baja (Philippines): Thank you, Mr. President, for convening this public meeting to discuss the progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET) (S/2004/669) under Security Council resolution 1543 (2004). It is important and timely to have more open discussions at this stage of Timor-Leste's development and journey towards self-sufficiency, when the assistance of the international community, on a bilateral and multilateral basis, becomes more critical than ever. We are also grateful to Assistant Secretary-General Annabi for his briefing, and we take this opportunity to acknowledge the contributions of former Special Representative of the Secretary-General Sharma and new Special Representative Hasegawa in the fulfilment of UNMISET's mandate.

It is noteworthy that some key positions in Timor-Leste's public administration have now been turned over to Timorese nationals. However, we also note the overall assessment that the public administration still lacks experienced and skilled personnel in the areas of economic planning and finance, justice and infrastructure. We support the Secretary-General's call for external support in those areas. That is particularly important in the justice sector, where the development of a modern egalitarian justice system is crucial. Timor-Leste's long-term governance hinges on how strong the foundations of the administrative institutions are built.

With regard to justice in the area of serious crimes, my delegation awaits the final report of the Commission on Reception, Truth and Reconciliation. We note the Secretary-General's observation that the remaining time frame and the limited resources for the serious crimes process may not be sufficient to fully bring to justice those responsible for the violence in 1999. We join the Secretary-General in his call for those responsible for the serious crimes in 1999 to be brought to justice. We believe that that should be done in the most practical, appropriate and effective manner, taking into consideration the views, sensitivities and cooperation of the parties concerned.

The reported continuing problems of the limited professional skills and experience of the Policia Nacional de Timor-Leste (PNTL) underline the need for more training, including not only skills enhancement for the police officers and the civilian support staff, but also human rights education.

My delegation is heartened by the report that, since Timor-Leste's formal assumption on 20 May of full responsibility for security, the overall security situation has remained calm and peaceful. Thus — notwithstanding initial fears — the significant reduction of UNMISET's military component has not led to any destabilization. Of course, the UNMISET security force and the International Response Unit are still in a state of readiness and conduct regular patrols. We note, however, the reported limitations in the capacity of the Timorese national defence forces (F-FDTL) resulting from a lack of experienced and skilled personnel and of proper training and equipment and a very limited logistical capacity for deployment.

We are also concerned at the very high unemployment rate and the widespread poverty in the country. Unless addressed by the Government, these could pose serious threats to the security and stability of Timor-Leste. We urge the Government to make use of unspent revenue to fund capital projects such as the rehabilitation of roads and other infrastructure, since such projects would not only generate employment but also promote economic growth and social development.

It is clear that, while UNMISET has achieved gains with regard to Timor-Leste's road towards self-sufficiency and self-governance, the problems associated with nation-building go well beyond the remaining period of UNMISET's mandate. As we face those problems, international assistance and support — on a bilateral and multilateral basis — is seen to be picking up where UNMISET leaves off. It is important to know what has ended and what has begun.

Nation-building is a long and tedious process fraught with challenges to be overcome. Timor-Leste's leaders and its people provide us with lessons on how the ingredients of vision, courage, determination, unity and hard work all help a country to inch towards successful nation-building. Countries that are in the best position to help Timor-Leste achieve the objective of nation-building are called upon to extend their support and assistance as expeditiously as possible. The efforts of neighbours Indonesia and Australia to

resolve remaining transitional issues — particularly boundary delineations with Timor-Leste — are indeed welcome.

Finally, my delegation also underlines the important roles that the United Nations agencies, funds and programmes — together with the Bretton Woods institutions and the development partner countries — now operating in Timor-Leste are playing in ensuring that Timor-Leste achieves a self-sustaining, economically independent and socially egalitarian society.

Mr. Lucas (Angola): We thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting on the situation in Timor-Leste. We also thank the Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, Mr. Hédi Annabi, for his comprehensive presentation of the Secretary-General's report (S/2004/669), and we thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Timor-Leste for his efforts and for those of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET) in helping the people of Timor-Leste to build that new nation, which we in the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries cherish dearly.

We took note with pleasure of the remarkable progress accomplished by the people and the Government of Timor-Leste in national reconciliation, peace-building and launching the foundations of a self-sustainable State, of which the recent assumption of responsibility for internal and external security is a major milestone. The progress achieved — as portrayed by the Secretary-General's report — in the three core programmes that are the main object of UNMISET's activities in Timor-Leste stands as a gauge of hope that a modern and democratic State based on the rule of law will become a reality in the near future.

While the Timorese State evolves towards those objectives, we deem it essential to provide Timor-Leste with a degree of economic sustainability, guaranteeing that the far-reaching reforms under way become irreversible in the long term.

The international financial institutions, the bilateral and multilateral partners of Timor-Leste and the international community at large should redouble their efforts to provide the needed economic assistance to Timor-Leste in order to ensure that the modern State and society being built in Timor-Leste are matched by a corresponding economic structure. Steady growth and the development of the Timorese economy are thus fundamental to the attainment of a sustainable and progressive society in Timor-Leste. It is the view of my delegation that the advances achieved might be jeopardized if tangible progress is not made in establishing the foundations of a modern economy and the full integration of Timor-Leste in the regional and world economy.

Relations between Timor-Leste and the neighbouring countries, particularly Indonesia, remain a crucial element of the current consolidation phase in the nation-building process. My delegation welcomes the high-level cooperation established between Timor-Leste and Indonesia on the common land border issue. The conclusion of that process, as well as negotiations with Australia on the maritime boundary and on the sharing of petroleum and natural gas resources, are crucial endeavours for Timor-Leste and for strengthening the Timorese people's prospects for security and socio-economic development.

As mentioned in the Secretary-General's report, to whose concerns and recommendations we fully subscribe, Timor-Leste has reached a crucial stage on the road to self-sufficiency, with a still fragile foundation of a sustainable society. When, in October, the Council again takes up the issue of Timor-Leste with the purpose of reviewing UNMISET's current mandate, we will strive for a sustained international presence in the country until a clear threshold on the way to the State's self-sufficiency has been crossed.

My delegation acknowledges the important role played by the United Nations system in ensuring better economic and social conditions for the people of Timor-Leste through the rehabilitation of infrastructure, job creation, poverty reduction and the better provision of health care and education to the population.

In conclusion, we would like to praise the excellent work of UNMISET advisers in supporting the public administration and the justice and law enforcement systems and in strengthening the security and stability of Timor-Leste.

Mr. Zhang Yishan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): First, I thank the Secretary-General for his report on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET) (S/2004/669). I also thank Assistant Secretary-General Annabi for his briefing.

In the past several months, with the unflagging efforts of the Timorese Government and people, Timor-Leste has witnessed remarkable progress in all areas of nation-building. The Timorese Government has continued to enhance its public administration capabilities. Its legal framework and law enforcement agencies have improved. The police and the armed forces have been strengthened and have successfully assumed responsibility for maintaining national security. We congratulate the Timorese people on their achievements in nation-building.

As the report of the Secretary-General notes, Timor-Leste still faces many challenges in maintaining national stability, improving public administration and promoting economic and social development. UNMISET still has much work to do during its mandate; in order fully to achieve prosperity and stability, the Timorese people still have much to do as well. During this period, the international community must establish a long-term partnership with Timor-Leste. We highly appreciate UNMISET's positive role in Timor-Leste's development and construction. We support UNMISET as it continues to provide support for Timor-Leste's early self-sufficiency. At the same time, we call upon the international community, including the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to continue to support and assist Timor-Leste in its nation-building in order to ensure sustainable development in all areas.

Mr. Zinsou (Benin) (*spoke in French*): Mr. President, I thank you for convening this public meeting on the situation in Timor-Leste. I also thank Mr. Hédi Annabi, Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, for his excellent briefing on the report of the Secretary-General (S/2004/669).

My delegation welcomes with renewed satisfaction this very instructive report on the progress made by Timor-Leste since the Council's last debate on this subject, in May 2004 (see S/PV.4965). The information in the report demonstrates once again, if proof were needed, the political resolve and long-term vision of Timorese leaders, who are committed to building a stable and democratic nation. The report also confirms that the young Timorese State is making the most of the presence of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET); we hail the Mission's remarkable effectiveness in assisting Timor-Leste to attain self-sufficiency. We commend the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for his action at the head of the mission.

As well, Benin welcomes Timor-Leste's developing cooperation with the Governments of Australia and Indonesia. We hope that the political will shown by those three Governments will endure and that the strengthening of good-neighbourly relations and respect for one another's territorial integrity will be the hallmark of their activities in all spheres.

We welcome the progress made in the delimitation of the land and maritime borders of Timor-Leste. The conclusion of that process is crucial for wise exploitation of and equitable benefit from the area's natural resources.

We welcome UNMISET's effective transfer on 20 May 2004 of all police and defence powers to the Timorese Government. That was indeed an important, even historic, step that marked the Timorese people's full enjoyment of their sovereignty. We are pleased to note that since then, calm has prevailed throughout Timorese territory and that the Government is continuing to set up various mechanisms to ensure an environment conducive to achieving sustainable economic and social development.

However, there is no doubt that Timor-Leste still needs time to achieve the established objectives and to meet the various expectations inspired by the country's independence. Peace, justice and democracy are preconditions for the creation of a stable and prosperous State. The Timor-Leste authorities have understood that very well; that is why they are tireless in their efforts to establish viable institutions that strengthen the rule of law. Proof of that is the preparation and adoption of indispensable legislation.

While it is true that Timor-Leste continues to have problems with the smooth functioning of State institutions, it is equally true that what is important is how those problems are tackled and solved. Therefore, my delegation agrees with the Secretary-General's assessment when he advocates the promotion by Timorese leaders of a culture of political dialogue, both among public institutions and with the population. We also agree that much remains to be done, particularly in the area of strengthening the capacities of the Timorese national police, which must at all costs remain a republican force at the service of all citizens and be capable of ensuring the safety and security of all

Timorese in order to strengthen their confidence in government.

An important phase in the building of the rule of law is consolidating the judicial system, the first objective of which should be combating all forms of impunity. Therefore, it is essential for the justice system of Timor-Leste to be given the effective means necessary to bring all those who have committed serious crimes to justice and ensure that the entire population enjoys impartial justice on a daily basis. This is why Benin believes that countries that shelter the perpetrators of — and those responsible for — the atrocities of 1999 must hand them over to the Timorese State so that they may be tried in accordance with the standards and norms of international justice. This is an international obligation that States must fulfil so as to ensure justice for the victims of these deplorable events.

At the same time, Benin is convinced that the efforts made by Timor-Leste require constant support from the international community, which should remain committed. We therefore welcome the extension of UNMISET's mandate as established in resolution 1543 (2004), which makes it possible for the United Nations presence to be maintained as a symbol of the culture of peace. We fully share the view of the Secretary-General concerning the need to sustain complementary bilateral efforts, particularly in such sensitive areas as public administration, the police and the armed forces. In this regard, my country welcomes the holding of a conference of Timor-Leste's development partners in May 2004, in Dili. We associate ourselves with the appeal issued by the Government of Timor-Leste for continued budgetary support at the current level for a period of two further years.

Mr. Trautwein (Germany): My delegation is grateful for the comprehensive briefing we have just heard from Mr. Hédi Annabi. We also commend Mr. Sukehiro Hasegawa for the work he has carried out as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to Timor-Leste during the last three months.

Let me begin by saying that Germany aligns itself with the statement that the Ambassador of the Netherlands will make on behalf of the European Union.

Considerable progress has been achieved in all the elements of the mandate of Security Council resolution 1543 (2004) since the last report of the Secretary-General (S/2004/333). We have seen progress in the fields of public administration and the justice system, development and law enforcement, and security and stability. The Government of Timor-Leste has to be commended for their achievements so far and the ongoing efforts towards establishing and securing a stable democracy.

Nevertheless, deficiencies in capacity-building still remain. Experienced, skilled and qualified personnel are still lacking, and external support remains necessary at this stage. In order to terminate the mandate as envisaged, training and capacity-building will therefore be the key tasks for the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET) in the remaining months.

We welcome the adoption of key pieces of legislation in the security field and the transfer of security responsibility from UNMISET to the authorities, police and national defence forces of Timor-Leste. We encourage the Government of Timor-Leste in its efforts to settle outstanding issues with its neighbours. In this regard, we hope that the ongoing talks with the Indonesian Government concerning the delineation of the land border will be concluded in the near future. We also believe it will be essential for the development of Timor-Leste's economy that the negotiations with Australia on the maritime border between the two countries and on the sharing of oil and natural gas resources in the region be successful.

Reconciliation is an important part of nation-building. The rule of law must be reinforced and confidence in State authority re-established. It is therefore of utmost importance that all perpetrators of serious crimes are brought to justice. Impunity is no option. In this regard, we express our confidence in all parties involved that the legal proceedings against the perpetrators of the crimes of 1999 are conducted in due course and in an appropriate manner.

Timor-Leste has rightly been described as a success story and a true model for nation-building. It will be important for the international community to remain committed to helping the people of Timor-Leste in building their economy. Economic development will be crucial. Therefore, continued and increased international cooperation and support in this regard is essential.

Mr. Dumitru (Romania): I would like to join other members of the Council in thanking the

Secretary-General for his comprehensive report (S/2004/669) on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET), and to express gratitude to Mr. Hédi Annabi, Assistant Secretary-General, for his presentation and the very useful update on the latest developments in Timor-Leste.

As Romania aligns itself with the statement to be made shortly by the permanent representative of the Netherlands, on behalf of the European Union, I would like to make only a few brief comments.

First, I would like to express Romania's satisfaction with the steady pace of the post-conflict stabilization and nation-building processes unfolding in Timor-Leste. The progress in that regard is the result of the continued close cooperation between the Government of Timor-Leste and the United Nations — with its complex involvement — together with the Bretton Woods institutions and development partner countries. In this context, we should underline that the decision taken by the Security Council on 14 May 2004 to extend UNMISET's mandate has already been fruitful. Through its different components, UNMISET has been concretely contributing to capacity-building within all the basic sectors of the young Timorese State, helping put new institutions and structures into operation.

Secondly, one cannot overlook that, in various areas, the process is still either just being launched or at a very early stage. The administrative capability of the major institutions in Timor-Leste is being hampered by a lack of experienced and skilled personnel, proper training and equipment and, in some cases, by a very limited logistical potential for deployment.

Of particular concern is the fact that, in spite of the progress in the prosecution of serious crimes since the Secretary-General's last report (S/2004/333), it seems that the serious crimes process may not be able to fully respond to the desire for justice of those affected by the violence in 1999. This means that many cases of grave human rights violations will not be investigated, and victims and their families will be denied justice. Romania stands ready to work in this regard with the other members of the Security Council and with the Secretariat.

Also, even though the overall security situation has remained calm and peaceful since Timor-Leste's formal assumption of full responsibility for security on 20 May, smuggling, illegal trading and border-crossing should be perceived as cause for concern, as are the tensions related to the demonstrations in Dili last July.

Certainly, there is no doubt that, in a number of key areas, including economic planning, finance, justice and infrastructure, external support remains crucial. Because UNMISET's ability to help will continue to be limited and can only complement bilateral efforts, the Security Council should further encourage greater assistance from the international community, which will be critical to the long-term stability and development of Timor-Leste. In addition, the cooperation of Member States is more necessary than ever to ensure that those responsible for serious crimes do not enjoy impunity. We believe that many of the persons indicted as part of the serious crimes process remain outside Timor-Leste and have not been brought to justice.

We would also like to join the appeal made by the Secretary-General in his report to the respective leaderships of Indonesia and Timor-Leste to make every effort in the coming months to finalize their agreement on their land border and on the management of the border area. UNMISET's military component has already facilitated contacts between Timorese and Indonesian security forces. Furthermore, UNMISET is called upon to continue to provide effective assistance and to facilitate confidence-building measures, so that the bilateral relations between the two countries rapidly reach full normalization, to their mutual benefit.

We also agree with the importance attached by the report of the Secretary-General and by the other members of the Council to the positive steps expected with regard to relations between Timor-Leste and Australia.

Pursuant to Security Council resolution 1543 (2004), UNMISET will complete its final mandate by 20 May 2005. The remaining nine months represent a short period, as compared to the medium- and long-term challenges that will continue to confront Timor-Leste and its Government. In spite of that, we are confident that UNMISET will finally make a difference between success and failure in the Timorese stabilization and State-building processes.

Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): Like the speakers who have spoken before me, I too would like to express our gratitude for the detailed report of the Secretary-General (S/2004/669), as well

as for the full briefing we have heard from Assistant Secretary-General Annabi regarding the work of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET). We also wish to commend the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sukehiro Hasegawa, both for assuming his new functions and for the work at the head of the Mission.

As the representative of the Netherlands will be making a statement on behalf of the European Union, to which we will of course associate ourselves, I shall confine myself to making a few brief comments.

We welcome the progress made by Timor-Leste since we last met to consider this item, last May, and we congratulate the people and leaders of Timor-Leste for that progress. The Government has taken responsibility for both the country's domestic and external security in accordance with the deadline set. It has also begun preparations for the holding of the first elections since independence. In addition, Timor-Leste has enacted key legislation for State institutions. Public administration is being developed, and efforts are ongoing to promote a culture of political dialogue and dispute settlement, as can be seen from the significant work done by the Commission on Reception, Truth and Reconciliation.

However, as noted by the report of the Secretary-General, much remains to be done in the months remaining before the conclusion of UNMISET's mandate. We are particularly concerned about the lack of training for mid-level civil servants and the major shortcomings still present in the judicial area. In that regard, we fully agree with the Secretary-General's observations in his report regarding trials for serious crimes committed in 1999. For its part, Spain will continue to lend its support to bring an end to impunity for such acts.

It is clear that the international community must not waver in providing security for Timor-Leste, a country whose institutions are still fragile and whose economic and social development pose a real challenge in the medium and long term. There must therefore be careful preparation through the United Nations system for the transition from UNMISET and other coordination and cooperation mechanisms.

Timor-Leste's relations with its neighbours are of fundamental importance to the full development of that country. We are pleased that the Government of Timor-Leste has been conducting those relations in a constructive spirit. We hope that bilateral negotiations with Australia aimed at the demarcation of the maritime border between the two States, as well as those regarding the exploration and exploitation of hydrocarbons in the area, will reach a successful conclusion as soon as possible. Likewise, the demarcation of the terrestrial boundary between Indonesia and Timor-Leste will continue to be a key factor for stability. The document signed on 30 June by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the two States is without a doubt a very important step forward that should be welcomed by the international community. That document will no doubt help to promote stable relations and prosperity for the affected populations along the borders.

Spain also wishes to welcome the recent announcement by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia that a bill is to be introduced seeking to establish a commission on truth and reconciliation. Such a body could indeed help heal the wounds of the past. We therefore trust that the good level of relations and cooperation between Indonesia and Timor-Leste will continue to take root in order to guarantee peace and security for both peoples.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the Russian Federation.

We are grateful to the Secretary-General, the Secretariat and Assistant Secretary-General Annabi for the detailed information provided regarding developments in Timor-Leste. We agree with the major conclusions of the Secretary-General's report (S/2004/669).

In recent months, the authorities of Timor-Leste, along with the active assistance of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET), have been able to achieve tangible progress towards further developing a legislative foundation and strengthening the basic institutions of the new Timorese State. It is important that the process to establish genuine sovereignty for this country has been consistent.

Nevertheless, Timor-Leste continues to face such drastic problems as a lack of resources and a shortage of skilled trained personnel, particularly in the executive branch and the law enforcement and judicial areas. With the support of the United Nations and the international community, the people of Timor-Leste still have a great deal to do in order to achieve genuine

self-sufficiency ahead of next year's conclusion of UNMISET's mandate.

We are pleased that the domestic political situation in Timor-Leste has continued to be generally stable. On the whole, the preparatory process for local elections is being successfully carried out. Those elections will be very significant, as they will be the first expression of popular will since the country gained its independence. We call on all of the country's political actors to participate constructively in the elections.

We welcome the continued development of relations between Timor-Leste and Indonesia. We call upon both countries to engage in a further intensification of bilateral cooperation to speedily resolve the outstanding an unregulated issues, including the important problem of the demarcation and settlement of the common border.

In conclusion, I would like to express our gratitude to all of the personnel of the United Nations Mission for their active and important work in carrying out the mandate given by the Security Council for this operation.

I now resume my function as President of the Security Council. I give the floor to the representative of Timor-Leste.

Mr. Guterres (Timor-Leste): Thank you. As this is the first time that I have addressed the Council since your assumption of the presidency, allow me to congratulate you and wish you success in the conduct of the work of this august body. I would like to thank the Secretary-General for his report which outlines the activities of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET). I would also like to extend my thanks to Assistant Secretary-General Annabi for his very comprehensive briefing on the current situation this morning, as well as commend the efforts of the Secretary-General's new Special Representative in Timor-Leste, Mr. Sukehiro Hasegawa and his deputy, Mr. Arul Khare.

During the period since the Security Council's adoption of resolution 1543 (2004), progress has been made by the Government towards achieving the goal of self-sufficiency. I will not dwell on those achievements as the report of the Secretary-General adequately highlights them. The challenges are many and both the Government and the people of Timor-Leste will work towards the building of a nation based on the principles of democracy, rule of law and respect for human rights.

However, it is appropriate that I inform the Council of the Government's actions following the public demonstrations which occurred on 19 and 20 July in front of the Government building. Immediately following the incident, both President Gusmao and Prime Minister Alkatiri publicly acknowledged that the actions of some officers of the mission of police were a cause for concern and promised strict actions against those police officers who were found to be responsible.

In view of the severity of the situation, Prime Minister Alkatiri wrote a letter to Special Representative Sukehiro on 21 July seeking assistance for capacity-building in technical and tactical areas, leadership and command in the field, discipline and psychological preparation for the Policia Nacional de Timor-Leste (PNTL).

In addition, on 9 August, the Government announced the establishment of a commission of enquiry composed of Vice Ministers for internal administration and interior, the Prosecutor General and the Human Rights Advisor from the Prime Minister's Office, chaired by the Minister of Administration. These efforts are in addition to the internal professional standards of investigation undertaken by the PNTL.

The events of 19 and 20 August highlighted the need for further capacity-building for the PNTL. The Government remains fully committed to creating a professional and accountable police force in the adoption of the organic law of the PNTL in May of this year. The adoption of the Government decree establishing the oversight committee is indicative of this commitment.

However, as indicated in the Secretary-General's report, the effective implementation of these laws will require continued financial and technical assistance. The President, the parliament and the Government are making every effort to address the issues raised by the veterans and hopes for the continued support of UNMISET and the international community. With such assistance, we believe that residual tensions will soon be defused. Preparations are well under way for the first local elections the holding of which will further strengthen the democratic process, accountability and centralization in our young nation.

Timor-Leste acknowledges and values the importance of dialogue between State institutions and civil society, and, in that regard, has continued with the "open governance" initiative which began in January 2002. It is in this period of world governance, dialogue and transparency that the Government is currently conducting public consultations on the draft of petroleum laws. These consultations are inclusive and enjoy the participation of Timorese civil society as well as international institutions, such as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Timor-Leste continues to enjoy good relations with its neighbours. The finalization of the border demarcation activities between Indonesia and Timor-Leste remains a priority for my Government and all efforts are being made to conclude an agreement in the coming months. The finalization of the land borders will contribute significantly to facilitating cross-border links to residents on both sides of the border. My delegation welcomes the recent announcement by the European Union to support the resettlement of Timorese living in Indonesia. The recent accreditation of the first Indonesian Ambassador to East Timor is a clear indication of the progress made in our relations with our closest neighbour. Relations between Indonesia and Timor-Leste will continue to strengthen in the future as there is much goodwill and a spirit of cooperation and friendship between both Governments and peoples.

Negotiations on the maritime boundaries between Australia and Timor-Leste are scheduled to commence in September. Timor-Leste is confident that a just and equitable agreement can be reached. Agreement on permanent boundaries is essential to ensure future economic viability and stability in Timor-Leste.

Justice in the reconciliation process is a cornerstone to guaranteeing a stable society, in particular for those countries like ours emerging from conflict. In East Timor, the Commission of Reception and Reconciliation has played a very important role in this respect. With regard to the work of the Serious Crimes Unit, progress was made in the prosecution of serious crimes, as acknowledged in the Secretary-General's report. My delegation hopes that the work of the Serious Crimes Unit will be completed, as called for in Security Council resolution 1543 (2004). As a society, we would like to put the past behind us and look with confidence towards the future.

Institutional capacity-building in a number of key areas of public administration, such as finance, justice, infrastructure and economic planning is critical for Timor-Leste to succeed in its nation-building efforts. In this regard, we appeal to the Security Council, the international community and development partners to continue to support Timor-Leste by means of the provision of advisers in these key sectors, for mentoring and for the building of capacities of Timorese counterparts.

In conclusion, despite some progress and the forecast of 1 per cent growth in gross domestic product in the economy, poverty reduction, investment capacity-building and job creation are still the main concerns of the Government. In this respect, the continued support of the international community and development partners is critical to achieving the economic and social development, as outlined in the national development plan, for the consolidation of the progress made with the help of the international community and for its importance in the maintenance of peace and stability.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): I thank the representative of Timor-Leste for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Indonesia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Jenie (Indonesia): Thank you, Mr. President, for giving my delegation this opportunity to participate in the Security Council's consideration of the agenda item on the situation in Timor-Leste. Our congratulations go to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. My delegation would also like to express its gratitude to the Secretary-General for his report contained in document S/2004/669 of 13 August 2004, which was introduced today by Mr. Hédi Annabi.

As members of the Council will recall, Indonesia has been consistent in its support for the work of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET). In that regard, we are glad that the report notes the various steps taken by the Timorese Government towards self-sufficiency. It has always been the hope of Indonesia that UNMISET would assist Timor-Leste to attain that objective as soon as possible.

Indonesia places great value on its relationship with Timor-Leste. Indeed — as noted by my dear colleague, Ambassador José Guterres — last month the Government of the Republic of Indonesia upgraded the status of its diplomatic representation in Dili to the ambassadorial level by the enactment of presidential decree number 60, of 26 July 2004. Our ambassador to Timor-Leste presented his credentials to President Xanana Gusmão this month. I share the hope of my colleague José that this development will further enhance our growing relationship with Timor-Leste.

Similarly, on 30 June 2004, the Foreign Ministers of the two countries held a meeting in Bali to discuss efforts to further enhance bilateral cooperation, with particular reference to the boundary issue. Members of the Council may well be aware that the Technical Subcommittee on Border Demarcation and Regulation, comprising border experts from both countries, held 11 meetings during the period 2001-2004. The Subcommittee has achieved significant progress, identifying 907 geographical international boundary points in the border areas between the two countries. This is important because those geographical points cover approximately 90 per cent of the land boundary shared by the two countries. The implication of that achievement is that only about 10 per cent of the boundary remains to be covered.

I am pleased to inform the members of the Security Council that, at their meeting, the Ministers agreed on the content of the provisional agreement between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste on the land boundary, and that they will submit it to their heads of Government for consideration. I note that this development has been welcomed in the course of today's meeting. The draft of the provisional agreement underlines the robust efforts of both States to facilitate the conclusion of the first-ever boundary agreement between the two nations and paves the way for a full boundary agreement. In that connection, we are pleased to note that the report of the Secretary-General acknowledges the progress made at the June meeting of the Joint Border Commission and at the subsequent meeting of the Foreign Ministers.

Furthermore, I would like to draw the attention of the Council to a recent statement by the Foreign Minister of Timor-Leste on the subject of Batek island — to which the Secretary-General's report of 13 February 2004 (S/2004/117) referred — regarding its ownership between Indonesia and Timor-Leste. In a comment to the press at the end of a meeting between the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Timor-Leste on 15 August 2004, Mr. Ramos Horta stated that Batek island was under the sovereignty of Indonesia, adding that he was grateful that Indonesia would grant rights to the Timorese in Oekusi to visit the island for rituals or traditional purposes.

Before I conclude, I would like to refer to the 17 June 2004 decision of the Office of the United Nations Security Coordinator to change the security status for the West Timor area from phase V to phase IV. Although that development has come rather late, the decision is a demonstration of the improving security situation in the border area. We hope that continued improvement in the security situation will be taken into account, with a view to reducing the security phase to normal.

Both Indonesia and Timor-Leste are determined to embrace conciliatory and forward-looking policies in the interest of the people and their development. Both nations have chosen to enhance their cooperation on the basis of mutually beneficial policies. In that context, it is important for UNMISET and the international community to remain supportive of the cordial and growing bilateral ties between Indonesia and Timor-Leste.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): I thank the representative of Indonesia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Australia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Dauth (Australia): I appreciate the fact that these days we try to limit courtesies, as a way of making the Security Council more efficient. But it would be wrong of me on this first occasion that I am speaking before the Council since your arrival, Sir, not to warmly welcome you to New York and to congratulate you on a highly efficient and effective presidency this month. It is very good to be here today.

Australia very much welcomes the Secretary-General's excellent report (S/2004/669) on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET) and also this morning's very comprehensive and helpful briefing from my friend Hédi Annabi. As the

report shows, UNMISET continues to make significant progress in acquitting itself of its mandate, facilitating Timor-Leste's transition to self-sufficiency. But there still are many challenges ahead, including the development of Timor-Leste's police and justice sectors.

Although the decision will not be before the Council until November, our firm view is that UNMISET should continue in its current form through May 2005. We are not in favour of an early withdrawal or downsizing of the mission's police or military elements.

We share the Secretary-General's assessment that Timor-Leste's law-enforcement agencies, including the Rapid Intervention Unit, require further training and development to strengthen their technical skills and professional values. It has been much discussed this morning, but the events of 19 and 20 July at the veterans demonstration highlighted a need for ongoing capacity-building in Timor-Leste's national police service. I particularly appreciate the comments of our colleague Ambassador Guterres about measures which his Government is taking in that respect. I think this also highlights the value of having an emergency backup international police response unit in place until 20 May 2005. The unit, in our view, must remain at its present strength. It is important that UNMISET continue to provide the time which Timor-Leste needs to strengthen its key institutions and to consolidate the gains made to date. It is also important that that time be efficiently and productively used.

I am pleased to tell the Council that the joint Australia-United Kingdom police development programme — which was mobilized in July, committing $A32 million over four and a half years — is making good progress; I am also pleased that others have made reference to that. The programme has been well received by the Government of Timor-Leste. We will continue to stand alongside our neighbour to help bring opportunities and stability to the people of Timor-Leste, not least through our commitment of 100 military and 17 police personnel to the current United Nations Mission and through our significant development assistance, police and defence programmes.

There has been much discussion this morning about the maritime boundary negotiations between Australia and Timor-Leste. I should say very clearly that no country is more aware than mine of the significance of those negotiations. Our Foreign Minister, Mr. Downer, met with Ambassador Guterres's Foreign Minister, Mr. Ramos-Horta, as recently as 11 August to discuss that issue. I am pleased to report to the Council that those discussions made very significant progress and that Australia and East Timor are now much closer to an agreement on a framework for a settlement on permanent maritime boundaries. Both our countries are pursuing a creative approach that preserves the fundamental interests of both Australia and Timor-Leste. For our part, Australia believes in the strength of its legal position, and sovereignty is also a key issue. We look forward to working with Timor-Leste to resolve outstanding issues as soon as possible. In that context, I should report that the second round of negotiations is likely to be held next month, in September.

As members are aware, Australia has been a significant contributor to the international effort in support of our newest nation. As a neighbour and as a friend, we can be relied upon to continue that effort.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): I thank the representative of Australia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of the Netherlands. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. van den Berg (Netherlands): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The candidate countries Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania and Turkey, the countries of the Stabilization and Association Process and potential candidates Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the European Free Trade Association countries Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway, members of the European Economic Area, align themselves with this statement.

Since its recognition as an independent State, on 20 May 2002, Timor-Leste has faced several challenges that, to put it mildly, have not been easy. But the Government of the 191st State Member of the United Nations has had the courage and the determination to rise to those challenges, and several of them have been dealt with effectively. The European Union therefore commends the people of Timor-Leste for their tremendous achievements, which have given rise to upward social and economic development, increasingly

functioning institutions, a consolidating civil administration, a growing legal framework and several branches of security forces, which we hope will succeed in defining their roles and responsibilities and in adhering to a culture of transparency and accountability.

Moreover, the European Union congratulates the Governments of Timor-Leste and Indonesia for the record time in which they were able to agree on most of their common border. The European Union encourages both Governments to achieve sustainable cooperation on possible ways to address that sensitive issue, and we hope that an agreement beneficial to both parties will soon be signed.

The European Union is aware that all the achievements in Timor-Leste could not have been made at the current pace without the unwavering commitment and support of the United Nations. The European Union would like to reiterate its admiration for the men and women who have contributed to the success of the missions under the able leadership of former Special Representative Kamalesh Sharma and, currently, of Mr. Sukehiro Hasegawa. The European Union is confident that the United Nations will continue to have a pivotal role in strengthening the capacity-building of the Timorese and in the formulation of policy frameworks.

Despite the clear successes in most fields and the cautious advances in others, the European Union regrets to state that it still identifies an area of serious concern. Ending impunity and promoting a culture of accountability and transparency is one of the key tasks of post-independence Timor-Leste. The European Union has always supported all efforts to bring to justice the perpetrators of the serious crimes committed in the then-East Timor in 1999. Several efforts have been made, and, with a view to giving the processes the benefit of the doubt and a chance to observe international standards in the trials of suspected human rights abusers, the European Union has generally refrained from overly explicit public observations so far.

However, the European Union now considers the process towards justice and impunity to have gone awry. The serious-crimes process — although it is being conducted competently — has not resulted in bringing all perpetrators to justice, given that many of the indicted are still believed to be outside Timor-Leste. The European Union therefore calls on States Members of the United Nations to extend their full cooperation, as called for by the Secretary-General, to ensure that those responsible for serious crimes do not enjoy impunity. This issue is gaining urgency, as, in conformity with the current mandate of UNMISET, the Serious Crimes Unit will be terminated in May 2005.

The European Union has noted with concern the recent overturning of convictions by the Ad Hoc Human Rights Tribunal of Indonesia in Jakarta. The European Union expected the trials to be conducted according to international standards, to which the Government of Indonesia is itself deeply committed. We hope that the Indonesian Government will do its utmost to ascertain the credibility of the judicial process. In that regard, the European Union intends to support any future action in that regard by all concerned, including the Secretary-General.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Haraguchi (Japan): Thank you, Mr. President, for convening this public meeting concerning the situation in Timor-Leste. I also wish to offer my thanks to Assistant Secretary-General Mr. Annabi for his comprehensive briefing.

At the last open meeting on this issue, I expressed Japan's view that if Timor-Leste is to be considered a genuine peacekeeping operation success story, the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET) must complete its activities and achieve its goals within this final one-year period. It is thus essential to conclude during this period the transition from the phase of peacekeeping operations for resolution of the conflict to the next phase of development activities conducted through bilateral channels and the relevant international institutions.

From that point of view, my Government appreciates the progress described in the Secretary-General's report (S/2004/669). Timor-Leste has made further steady advances in the area of administration and the justice sector, while in the security sector, law enforcement agencies and the armed forces have continued to develop and mature. It is crucial that Timor-Leste maintain its momentum towards achieving sustainable independence, and Japan will continue to offer its utmost support for that purpose.

We are, at the same time, concerned by the observation contained in the report that work on the delineation of the land border between Timor-Leste and Indonesia is not proceeding expeditiously. Japan expects that both countries will continue to make their best effort to resolve that matter.

The veterans' demonstration in Dili in July and the political dialogue held last Saturday between Government leaders and representatives of several groups of ex-combatants, veterans and bereaved orphans and widows underscored the importance of the reintegration of those groups into society at large. For that reason, the Recovery, Employment and Stability Programme for Ex-Combatants and Communities in Timor-Leste, administered by the United Nations Development Programme, to which Japan has contributed substantially, should be given highest priority. We also call for the support of the Member States in similar activities.

Japan has been playing a major role in the building of a sustainable Timor-Leste. My Government has pledged and has been steadily implementing assistance of up to $60 million over the first three years following independence, with the focus on peace-building and on reconstruction in the three key areas of agriculture, infrastructure and human resources development. We have already invested $57 million in infrastructure projects such as roads, electricity and water supply in the Dili district. The engineer group and headquarters personnel of our Self-Defence Forces recently completed its tasks and returned to Japan. At the same time, at the request of the Government of Timor-Leste, Japan handed over the equipment of the engineer group, including various types of vehicles which can be utilized for road building, to the Government of Timor-Leste in the hope that it would help to meet the needs on the ground.

My Government is also making efforts, through the dispatch of what are called civil power groups, composed of engineer group veterans and non-military engineering specialists, to transfer technology by educating Timor-Leste Government staff in the operation, maintenance and management of the donated equipment and material. We believe such support will not only offer a new challenge for Japan's international peace cooperation but also help improve the life of the people, which constitutes the basis of the nation-building now under way in Timor-Leste.

Finally, I wish to underscore once again how important this final one-year period will be for Timor-Leste. The Government of Japan is convinced that, through the efforts of UNMISET and the people of Timor-Leste and with the guidance of their wise leaders, stability and the foundations for development in Timor-Leste will be strengthened and the United Nations peacekeeping operation will successfully complete its mission.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of Portugal. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Macieira (Portugal): Mr. President, I would like to thank you for convening this meeting and thank the Secretary-General for his latest report on the situation in Timor-Leste (S/2004/669), as well as Special Representative Hasegawa and his staff for the excellent work they have done so far, as well as Assistant Secretary-General Annabi for his briefing.

Portugal wholly subscribes to the statement made by the representative of the Netherlands on behalf of the European Union. I will only add a few comments of our own.

The Secretary-General's report sets out clearly that Timor-Leste has made significant advances towards self-sufficiency. It has adopted additional legislation and has successfully assumed the responsibility for its internal and external security, while its public administration, law enforcement agencies and armed forces have all continued to develop.

It is clear, however, that work remains to be done, particularly in terms of security, as the recent confrontations between martial arts groups show. Those events highlight the serious socio-economic challenges that Timor-Leste still faces today, in particular the disfranchisement of its youth, unemployment and poverty.

Equally important to the sustainable and viable development of Timor-Leste is the completion of the border negotiations with both its neighbours, Australia and Indonesia. In the latter case, there have been recent positive developments concerning the delimitation of the common land border, to which the commitment of the leadership of both countries has been crucial. In

that respect, we would like to encourage both countries to resolve expeditiously the remaining issues.

Encouraging negotiations are also under way with Australia concerning the maritime borders. In that respect, I would like to recall what Ms. Ana Pessoa Pinto, Minister in the Presidency of the Council of Ministers of Timor-Leste, said in the Council's meeting last May,

> "The position of my Government on this is simple and clear: we are entitled to a just and fair maritime boundary with our two neighbours, Australia and Indonesia; and we are guided by principles of international law and practice." (*S/PV.4965, p. 21*)

My final remarks relate to the responsibility of the international community and the Security Council in relation to Timor-Leste in the context of ending impunity and promoting accountability and transparency.

In September 1999, the people of Timor-Leste unreservedly trusted the United Nations. We are all aware of what happened. A premeditated campaign of terror forced tens of thousands of people to flee to the mountains, and others were herded and forced to leave the country. People were slaughtered, property looted and more than 80 per cent of the country's infrastructure was destroyed.

In that context, the Government of Indonesia gave assurances that those responsible for those gross violations of human rights and international law would be brought to justice. The international community relied on that commitment.

Portugal would like to recall the commitment of the Government of Indonesia, in the context of respect for international standards of justice and fairness, to bring to justice those responsible for violations of human rights and humanitarian law in Timor-Leste. However, the verdicts did not result in a substantiated account of the human rights violations that took place in Timor-Leste.

Moreover, deeply disappointing were the recent overturning on appeal of the convictions of the four military and police officers originally convicted on charges of committing atrocities in Timor-Leste, and in particular the latest decisions, by which, of 18 defendants, only two, who are civilians and of East Timorese origin, are serving jail terms.

We would like to underline the importance we attach to accountability and respect for human rights. In that regard, Portugal is following with great attention the efforts of the Secretary-General and the international community in the search for a viable conclusion to the work of the structures put in place to investigate the human rights violations that occurred in Timor-Leste.

We support Timor-Leste as an independent nation at peace with itself and its neighbours and fully integrated into its region. As in the past, Portugal will remain committed and ready to contribute to the consolidation and development of Timor-Leste and to the United Nations efforts to that effect.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of New Zealand. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Mackay (New Zealand): I should like at the outset to thank the Secretary-General for the preparation of this interim report. As foreshadowed in April, the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET) has entered a final consolidation phase. A three-month stock-taking of progress in key mandated tasks is a useful way to determine what areas require particular attention, as the Council prepares for what we expect will be the final mandate renewal in November.

We see many positive developments across civilian institutions. Good progress has been made on delineation of the land border between Timor-Leste and Indonesia, with a final agreement expected in the coming weeks. Key justice and human rights legislation has been passed and preparations are on track for parliamentary elections in 2006. We congratulate the Government of Timor-Leste for its determination in addressing the significant challenges it faces as a small emerging nation with limited resources and capacity.

With respect to the security sector, we agree that there remain some critical challenges in building the capacity of Timor-Leste's security infrastructure, particularly in the area of rapid intervention. We look forward to advice on further progress on police and security sector training in the next report.

We continue to strongly support the work of the Serious Crimes Unit and Special Panels as essential

components of an internationally supported process to see justice served for crimes committed in East Timor in 1999. We are encouraged by the advice that the Serious Crimes Unit has prepared a strategy to complete its work, according to the timetable set by the Security Council in resolution 1543 (2004). Bilaterally, we have also given strong support to the work of Timor-Leste's Commission on Reception, Truth and Reconciliation, which complements the work of the Serious Crimes Unit in respect of lesser crimes.

New Zealand has consistently said that those responsible for the crimes committed in Timor-Leste in 1999 must be brought to justice in a manner consistent with the standards of international law. We are deeply concerned that the ad hoc processes established for this purpose appear to have failed. We do not consider it acceptable for the international community to tolerate an environment of impunity. If domestic processes are not able to ensure justice, we see a role for the United Nations and the Security Council in ensuring that accountability is established and justice is seen to be done.

We are encouraged by the engagement of United Nations agencies, funds and programmes in a wide spectrum of activities in Timor-Leste. The transition from a peacekeeping presence to a standard developmental presence for the United Nations is a critical part of the consolidation phase of this mission, and we see it as very appropriate for these issues to be addressed in a peacekeeping mission progress report. We encourage the United Nations to look at opportunities for sharing its assessment of key remaining tasks with donors. We consider that information about what the United Nations assesses as critical to support Timor-Leste, as it adjusts to the planned departure of a peacekeeping presence next year, could make a useful contribution to other Governments' bilateral development assistance processes.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of Malaysia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Rastam (Malaysia): Mr. President, I offer my sincere congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and to the distinguished Permanent Representative of Romania for his stewardship of the Council last month.

My delegation is pleased to address the Security Council on the situation in Timor-Leste three months after the adoption of Security Council resolution 1543 (2004). We express our sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General for his progress report (S/2004/669) on the activities of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET), and to the Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. Hédi Annabi, for his clear and comprehensive presentation of his report and briefing this morning. We commend the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sukehiro Hasegawa, the former Special Representative, Mr. Kamalesh Sharma, and members of the civilian, military and police components of UNMISET for their dedication and invaluable contribution to the process of nation-building in Timor-Leste.

I am pleased to note that the activities carried out by the United Nations and, in particular, the contributions made by UNMISET have continued to provide a window of opportunity for progress in Timor-Leste. The United Nations has played an important role in providing security and facilitating the country's emergence from conflict. It has helped to nurture the development of political, economic, social, legal and judicial institutions. We note in particular the support given for the public administration and justice system and for justice in the area of serious crimes, the support to the development of law enforcement and the support for the security and stability of Timor-Leste.

The Secretary-General has reported that progress achieved thus far has permitted a downsizing in the international presence on the ground. In this regard, it is encouraging for my delegation to note that the Government of Timor-Leste has taken several important steps towards reaching self-sufficiency and that it has formally assumed responsibility for internal and external security as of 20 May 2004. At the same time, we note the Secretary-General's point that "pending sufficient national income generation, the development of sustainable national institutions will continue to be dependant on international assistance" *(S/2004/669, para. 2)*. This is indeed an important point for the international community, including the Security Council, to note. Malaysia will do its utmost within its capacity to contribute towards assisting the laudable efforts of the Government and people of Timor-Leste to achieve further progress.

We are encouraged by the adoption of important legislation to establish the legal and institutional frameworks as well as the continued efforts in promoting a culture of free political dialogue and resolution of bilateral issues. These advances could not have been achieved without the full commitment, determination and strong resolve of the country's leadership and the support of the people of Timor-Leste in general.

It is encouraging to note that the next round of negotiations between Timor-Leste and Australia on the sharing of petroleum and natural gas resources in the region will be held next month, in September. We wish for success in those negotiations so that they may provide the people of Timor-Leste with the opportunity to enhance the effectiveness of State institutions, sustain stability and help improve socio-economic conditions. In this regard, my delegation hopes that both parties would redouble their efforts so as to come to an early and mutually beneficial conclusion on this issue.

My delegation is also encouraged by the continued effort by both Timor-Leste and Indonesia to delineate the land border between them. We hope that the discussions and contacts between the two countries will lead to a final agreement on their land border and better management of the border area in order to further enhance bilateral relations and cooperation between the two neighbouring countries. We also note the statements made by the Permanent Representative of Timor-Leste and the Permanent Representative of Indonesia on other efforts that have been carried out between the two countries to continue to improve bilateral relations, and we support these.

The Secretary-General has reported to the Council his assessment of the progress achieved by UNMISET and the challenges faced by the United Nations in Timor-Leste. We note the observation made by the Secretary-General that much remains to be accomplished during the remaining months of UNMISET's mandate. It is clear that continued international assistance is required and that, as the Secretary General has pointed out in his report,

> "Complementary bilateral efforts to strengthen Timorese public administration, law enforcement agencies and armed forces are essential for Timorese counterparts to achieve the necessary capability in an orderly and sustainable manner". (*Ibid., para. 46*)

In ensuring effective implementation of the laws promulgated for the establishment of the national security institutions, for instance, it is noted that there is still a significant requirement for financial and human resources. It is thus essential for the international community to allow sufficient time for the Timorese to acquire the necessary skills and experience, especially in the core functions in which local expertise is still lacking. Malaysia has provided some training in human resources development in a number of areas. We stand ready to further cooperate with the Government of Timor-Leste.

As a neighbouring country, Malaysia reiterates its commitment to the nation-building process and to the development of Timor-Leste. We have offered assistance bilaterally and will continue to explore new areas of assistance with the Government of Timor-Leste. We continue to fully support the activities of the United Nations in Timor-Leste, as well as the efforts of the Government and the people of that country.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): I thank the representative of Malaysia for his kind words addressed to me.

I now give the floor to Mr. Annabi to respond to comments and questions.

Mr. Annabi: There was only one specific question, from the representative of France. I will therefore be very brief.

Of course, we are all fully aware of the implications of the decision by the Indonesian Appeals Court to overturn the convictions of Indonesian military and police officials who had been convicted of serious crimes committed in Timor-Leste in 1999. In that regard, the position of the Secretary-General is clear. He has stressed repeatedly the need to ensure that those responsible for serious crimes are brought to justice and that there should be no impunity for the perpetrators.

The Secretary-General has asked the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to prepare a comprehensive report on the progress to date in the serious crimes process, both in Indonesia and in Timor-Leste. We expect that report to be completed by the end of September or in early October. We shall then be in a better position to consider, on the basis of the

report and in consultation with the Security Council, what actions could be taken to ensure that the serious crimes process moves forward and that impunity does not prevail.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): I thank Mr. Annabi for his clarifications.

There are no further speakers remaining on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5025

Security Council

Fifty-ninth year

Provisional

5025th meeting

Wednesday, 25 August 2004, 10 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Denisov	(Russian Federation)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Angola	Mr. Lucas
	Benin	Mr. Zinsou
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	Chile	Mr. Muñoz
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	France	Mr. Duclos
	Germany	Mr. Trautwein
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Philippines	Mr. Baja
	Romania	Mr. Dumitru
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Thomson
	United States of America	Mrs. Patterson

Agenda

The situation in Afghanistan

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security (S/2004/634)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

04-46890 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Afghanistan

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security (S/2004/634)

The President (*spoke in Russian*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Afghanistan, Canada, Iceland, Japan, the Netherlands and Uzbekistan, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Farhâdi (Afghanistan) took a seat at the Council table; the representatives of the other aforementioned countries took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Jean Arnault, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Arnault to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security (S/2004/634).

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Jean Arnault, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan. I now give him the floor.

Mr. Arnault (*spoke in French*): As the first speaker at today's meeting, I should like to express to you, Mr. President, our condolences for the tragic air accident that occurred yesterday and to request that you convey our expressions of support and solidarity to the families of the victims.

(*spoke in English*)

Thank you, Mr. President, for this new opportunity to appear before the Council and also for having agreed to postpone this presentation from last week until today in order to accommodate the work of the Mission.

Members of the Council have already seen the quarterly report of the Secretary-General (S/2004/634), which covers the period from mid-March until the end of July. With your permission, Mr. President, I will therefore refrain from reiterating what is already contained in it and focus on providing the Council with an update on the main issues on the Bonn agenda.

Throughout most of the country, voter registration closed on 15 August. In some districts of the south and the south-east, where registration started late owing to insecurity, registration was extended for another five days and came to an end on 20 August. Although final figures will take some time to compile, the broad picture is already available: 10.5 million people registered, more than 41 per cent of them women. Some 230,000 nomads were registered by dedicated registration teams. Overall, that is a good result: this comprehensive nationwide exercise now enables the electoral authorities and the security forces to make appropriate preparations for the 9 October election. It will make it possible for the elected leadership to claim representation of the Afghan nation as a whole. It has also served as a tool for an unprecedented level of popular mobilization around the political process, much higher than the two prior exercises held earlier: namely, the Emergency Loya Jirga and the Constitutional Loya Jirga. Elections held in the wake of a prolonged conflict are meant to create political legitimacy for the post-war order. The presidential election in Afghanistan now has the potential to do just that.

The picture is not entirely satisfactory, however. Although many of the cases of imbalance that existed a month ago between provinces have been corrected, it has proved very difficult to redress the situation in the areas of the south most affected by insecurity. In those areas, general insecurity, threats and attacks by extremist elements against electoral personnel and against the people themselves have caused registration sites to open late or for shorter periods of time. Most affected has been the province of Zabul, where registration barely exceeds 50 per cent of the target. In addition, although even in very conservative areas of the country the registration of women has reached the national average of some 40 per cent, we believe that insecurity has contributed to the very low registration of women in the south — approximately 19 per cent.

Some concerns have been expressed — most recently by several presidential candidates — about the fairness of registration. Among the allegations were charges that political considerations had shaped the choice of registration sites or the date of closing. Although there were obviously shortcomings to this process, we are fully satisfied that political bias was not one of them. Multiple registration, on the other hand, has probably been a factor, but it is very difficult to measure its scale, and, in any case, it will have no impact on polling.

At the conclusion of this nine-month registration campaign, it is fitting to pay tribute to the 12 electoral workers who were killed and the more than 30 who were wounded in attacks by extremists and to the 14,000 Afghan staff who made this success possible. Credit also goes to the Afghan security forces, to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and to the coalition, which — along with United Nations personnel — have played an essential role in this unprecedented endeavour.

Preparations for the election are now under way. The Joint Electoral Management Body is finalizing regulations applicable to the electoral campaign, which will start on 7 September. These cover campaign financing, electoral activities and public order, access to the media and the misuse of government resources for political purposes. Logistical preparations for the election are also under way: approximately 5,000 polling centres have been identified, in which 25,000 polling sites will be located. The recruitment of the 120,000 Afghan staff involved in the election has begun. Ballot boxes and other non-sensitive materials are arriving in the country and are in the process of distribution to the 34 provincial centres. Ballot papers will arrive in Kabul on 15 September and will similarly be shipped to provincial centres during the second half of September.

Of course, security is a major consideration. The overall security plan for the pre-polling phase, for election day and for post-election processes has been finalized. The concept is essentially identical to that developed during registration: polling-site security will be the responsibility primarily of the Ministry of Interior, who by polling day will have 20,000 police trained in the training centres supported by the United States and Germany.

The average number of police will be approximately six per site, and therefore additional security personnel will have to be recruited locally, in addition to trained police. The security of areas around the polling sites will be provided by the military: personnel from the Afghan National Army, from ISAF and from the coalition. The coalition now has approximately 18,000 troops in Afghanistan; ISAF has 7,300, which will rise to approximately 8,300 when the Spanish and Italian battalions are in theatre. They should be operational by the end of September. Cooperation between security actors and the electoral authority has been increasingly smooth as voter registration has progressed, and that legacy will be a very significant asset in dealing with the much more difficult challenge of providing security for the election.

That leads me to the nature of the challenges that we anticipate over the next six weeks. Difficult situations can be expected throughout the country. In recent weeks, factional rivalries have led to the temporary closure of registration sites in several provinces, including most recently in Badghis and Ghor, in connection with factional violence there. However, although factional violence has occasionally affected registration, it has never targeted it as such. That has been the work of groups such as the Taliban and Hezbi-i-Islami/Hekmatyar, which have vowed publicly to derail the process and have been responsible for the brunt of the attacks directed against voter registration. The latest attack — involving six bombs going off in quick succession inside and outside a registration compound in the province of Farah — took place on 19 August, killing two policemen and injuring seven.

Those forces have not been able to derail the process and have, in particular, failed spectacularly to undermine popular participation in registration in the country's east and south-east. However, as described earlier, their impact on the south has been more tangible and has deprived part of the population there of the possibility of participating in the election. What is more worrying, domestic and international security agencies concur that there are clear indications that the Taliban and similar groups are now preparing to escalate their attacks against the last stage of the election.

We are reasonably confident that these groups will not be able to undermine the electoral process at the national level. But we are concerned that violence could cause part of the population to stay away from polling sites in the south and elsewhere. That threat is compounded by the fact that security forces — both domestic and international — will be stretched thin to protect all 5,000 sites across the country.

Action is therefore necessary against those who plan and organize these attacks. In this respect, we welcome the timely meeting held on Monday and Tuesday between President Musharraf and President Karzai, and we hope that enhanced cooperation between the two countries and the international forces will prevent further violence against the elections. This is an urgent matter, as the electoral campaign will start in less than two weeks and thousands of electoral staff will be involved in the preparation of polling day between now and 9 October. The presidential election can make a major contribution to the stability of Afghanistan and the consolidation of its fragile state. Its protection deserves, in our view, the highest priority, as does the protection of the lives of the electoral workers who are making it possible.

Let me take this opportunity to refer briefly to the security of United Nations staff. A recent joint mission by the Office of the Security Coordinator (UNSECOORD) and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations has identified a few measures that will improve the security of United Nations staff in Afghanistan in the upcoming period. They include additional trained Afghan personnel for the protection of United Nations premises and a better capacity for security information and analysis. The cost of these measures is modest and I hope they can be implemented as quickly as possible.

Preparation for registration and voting in neighbouring Iran and Pakistan has, fortunately, made substantial progress since the Secretary-General's quarterly report to the Security Council (S/2004/634). Following the signing of memoranda of understanding between both Governments, as well as between the Government of Afghanistan and the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), the implementing partner, the International Organization for Migration (IOM), has begun to operate in both countries.

Because of the very compressed time frame, registration in Pakistan will be less than comprehensive but will still be carried out on a scale that, we believe, is acceptable. The process will start on 1 October. It will include three days of registration, two days of exhibition and challenges of the voters' list and three days for the retraining of staff. Polling day will take place, as in the rest of Afghanistan, on 9 October. Depending on the situation on the ground, registration or exhibition could be extended by one additional day. Over 1,000 registration and polling stations will be deployed in 300 locations in the refugee camps, in the north-west frontier province and Baluchistan and among urban concentrations of refugees in Peshawar and Quetta. The campaign of civic education aimed at the refugee population in Pakistan will start on 1 September. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Government of Pakistan for its cooperation in implementing this complex exercise.

In Iran, where the registration of refugees was completed two years ago under the auspices of the Government and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, polling will take place in approximately 1,000 polling stations in 250 locations, and the civic education campaign will start during the first week of September.

Out of the initial list of 23 applicants, 18 presidential candidates have passed the test of eligibility. The process of vetting was thorough and involved public exhibition of the list of presidential hopefuls and vetting of the applications by the Ministries of Interior, Defence and Finance, as well as the Supreme Court. Several embassies cooperated in checking whether candidates held double nationality, grounds for ineligibility under the Afghan constitution. Three candidates were alleged to maintain relationships with militias. They agreed to the Joint Electoral Management Body's proposal to have professional

officers of the Afghan National Army assigned to take command of their units.

The political affiliation of the candidates is quite diverse, with two being related to the royalist movement, two having achieved some prominence during the communist period, five belonging to jihadi parties and nine being broadly described as democrats. The only female presidential candidate, Masuda Jalal, already competed with President Karzai at the Emergency Loya Jirga two years ago, where she arrived in second place. Three more women are competing in the election as candidates for vice-president. The diversity of political backgrounds of the various candidates is, in itself, quite encouraging, as it shows that, at the national level at least, a meaningful political competition is seen as possible.

Political diversity is supplemented by ethnic diversity. As an unintended consequence of the constitutional provision that each presidential candidate must run on a ticket with his or her two vice-presidents, candidates have been able to nominate vice-presidential candidates outside their own ethnic group. This is certainly a welcome pattern. As reported to the Security Council earlier this year, the Constitutional Loya Jirga saw a rise in ethnic distrust and hostility and generated at the time fear that the electoral competition would further strengthen the politics of ethnicity. So far, the politics of multi-ethnicity has prevailed. In recent days, however, the tone of the political debate has become increasingly acrimonious, and we will have to watch closely how the electoral campaign unfolds.

During the period of electoral campaigning between 7 September and 8 October, the nationwide verification of political rights, undertaken jointly by the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission and UNAMA, will continue. It will ascertain whether the rights and obligations of candidates are observed and will recommend corrective action if need be.

Let me now say a few words about developments in other areas that are important to the State-building process in Afghanistan and should, hopefully, provide the next Government with better means to expand its authority.

Council members know how critical the issue of counter-narcotics has become as a result of the dramatic expansion of poppy cultivation this year. In his quarterly report (S/2004/634), the Secretary-General reported on the weak outcome of the eradication effort. The eradication campaign is now over, but interdiction continues. A successful raid by the Afghan Special Narcotics Force in early August in Helmand destroyed processing equipment and over two tons of drugs. This is an indication of the increasing capability of this force, which has destroyed, in the past eight months, over 30 tons of illegal drugs. The counter-narcotics police, for their part, continue to seize drugs and arrest suspects. They lack, however, the support of a fully functioning criminal justice system to prosecute drug cases fairly and efficiently. However, a project implemented by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime provides for the establishment of a specialized channel of the judicial system to handle such cases more effectively with specially trained prosecutors, judges and appropriate prison facilities. By the end of this year, we expect that the tools for a more effective law enforcement in the area of counter-narcotics should be in place.

Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) and the cantonment of heavy weapons remain slow, but we continue to believe that the targets of Berlin with regard to DDR can be achieved by the time of the election. Thirteen thousand soldiers have been demobilized and the demobilization of another 10,000 would get us very close to the 60 per cent target. Indeed, it appears more and more probable that the actual number of militias is not the official 100,000 but closer to 40,000 or 50,000.

In addition, in the past month, four corps commanders, in Mazar-e-Sharif, Kandahar, Jalalabad and Kunduz, have been reassigned to civilian functions. Two of them are now chiefs of police, one is a provincial governor and the fourth one is a deputy interior minister. This gives the Ministry of Defence the opportunity to transfer command and control of these corps to professional officers, preferably trained officers of the Afghan National Army. Final discussions on these appointments are currently under way. Good decisions in this regard will go a long way towards reassuring the population that militias will not be a factor in the upcoming elections. They will also facilitate the conclusion of the DDR process and the further expansion of the Afghan National Army.

Massive popular participation in voter registration has shown how much is riding on the upcoming election. We think that an election that meets these expectations is now within reach. We need an

additional effort with regard to the security of voters and electoral staff, and we need to continue to work hard on the political environment in order to ensure that it is as conducive as possible to a free and fair exercise. The Government, the contending candidates and the forces they represent, and the international community have a share of responsibility in it. We trust that we will all live up to it.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): I thank Mr. Arnault for his comprehensive briefing.

Ms. Patterson (United States of America): We would like to join Mr. Arnault in conveying our condolences to you, Mr. President, on the tragic loss of life in the unusual double airplane crash in your country.

Let me begin by thanking Mr. Arnault for his very informative briefing. My delegation is very happy to see him here in New York. We thank him for his perseverance and hard work on the elections and on other vitally endeavours in Afghanistan.

The election scheduled for 9 October is an important milestone in Afghanistan's path towards democracy. We commend the courage of the over 10 million Afghans who have decided to register to vote despite the threats of intimidation and violence. We welcome the over 4 million women who have chosen to take part in the political process. It is inspiring to see the determination of the Afghan people to make these elections succeed. There is no better tribute to the democratic process.

The United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) needs the international community to ensure the success of that election. First, it is imperative that UNAMA have sufficient resources to carry out the election. UNAMA has reported that it is facing a budget shortfall, caused by pledged funds that have not yet been disbursed. That gap must be closed to allow the election to be conducted in an effective and timely manner. Existing pledges will cover the costs of in-country voting, but the shortfall must be closed to allow the refugees in Pakistan and Iran to vote as well.

In that regard, it is important that Pakistan and Iran move forward in tandem on out-of-country registration and voting, so that the over 600,000 Afghans in Pakistan and the over 800,000 Afghans in Iran can take part in the election process. The fullest possible participation in the election by Afghan refugees will further the legitimacy of the elections and solidify the refugees' ties to their native country. The United States has already pledged and disbursed $24.7 million to help fund the election. We ask other States to work with us to identify and to pledge additional funds to meet the funding shortfall and to ensure success in this historic election.

Secondly, UNAMA staff must be protected so that they can carry out their mandate. We share Mr. Arnault's concern as to the impact of the recent attacks against election workers. Violence targeting registration sites and United Nations convoys over the past three weeks has underscored the dangers faced by election staff. It is imperative that we do all we can to counter that violence and protect the election process.

In June, NATO leaders agreed to provide enhanced security to Afghan authorities for the election. The deployment of additional forces has already begun. By September, the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) will assume the leadership of five provincial reconstruction teams in the north and north-east of Afghanistan. ISAF is working with coalition forces and Afghan authorities to complete an election security plan and to coordinate the implementation of a security framework.

Along with many other nations, the United States has worked with the people of Afghanistan for the past two years to rebuild their war-torn country. Together with ISAF, UNAMA and many non-governmental organizations, we have provided infrastructure, health care and education to a generation of Afghans that has known only war. The Afghan people have responded, enacting a strong, democratic constitution. The October election will mark the end of a transition period and the beginning of a new, democratic future.

Mr. Trautwein (Germany): Let me express my delegation's shock at the crashes involving two civilian passenger aircraft yesterday in southern Russia. The German Government would like to convey its deepest condolences to the relatives of the victims.

My delegation is very grateful for the report of the Secretary-General (S/2004/634) and for the extensive and comprehensive briefing made by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Jean Arnault.

Let me begin by saying that Germany aligns itself with the statement that the Ambassador of the Netherlands will make on behalf of the European Union.

Germany fully concurs with the findings of the report and its concluding observations, as well as with the assessment presented this morning by Mr. Arnault.

Voter registration, and in particular the high percentage of women participating, has been a great success and has exceeded our most optimistic expectations. That is a clear sign that the Afghan people are able and willing to determine their own destiny. The presidential election is a decisive step along the road of democratization and reconstruction, as laid out in the Bonn process. We wish to thank the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) for its extraordinary effort in assisting the Afghan Government in that endeavour.

The Afghan Government and the international community must now undertake the necessary measures to ensure that the presidential election is conducted successfully. We welcome the fact that observer missions from the European Union and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, as well as from the Asia Foundation and the National Democratic Institute, will be present. NATO is also preparing to further assist the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in providing the necessary security for the election.

Germany is concerned about the deteriorating security situation, which was mentioned by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. That situation is also affecting areas that had heretofore been stable. We share the assessment that security is threatened from three sides, namely, by terrorist forces such as the Taliban and Al Qaeda, by factional fighting between hostile armed groups and by criminal activities, particularly those associated with drugs. It will therefore be of the utmost importance to continue to reform the security sector by disarming militias and further establishing a functioning judicial system and national army and police forces. Germany will continue its support for building up national Afghan police forces.

The additional time gained due to the postponement of the parliamentary election should be used to improve the security situation. We hope that the Afghan Government and the international community will accelerate the process of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration in all provinces, in order to guarantee free and fair elections nation-wide and to strengthen the authority of the federal Government.

Germany is also alarmed by the increased cultivation of drug crops. Last year Afghanistan had the second largest opium harvest ever. The narco-economy endangers economic reconstruction and the establishment of functioning State structures. We therefore welcome the measures taken by the Afghan Government and others in combating this illicit economy.

The Secretary-General has rightly asked the international community to strengthen the effort to consolidate peace and stability. Afghanistan will continue to need external help in order to face the challenges to security. In that context, I would like to point to the establishment of a second German provincial reconstruction team Faizabad, in Badakhshan. An advance team is already on the ground, and soon a first troop contingent will be deployed. Germany remains the largest national provider of armed forces for ISAF in Kabul. It also provides troops for the Eurocorps headquarters, which took over the leadership of ISAF in August this year. Finally, German troops are part of the French-German brigade within the Kabul multinational brigade.

Mr. President, Germany welcomes the verification of the political rights campaign and the report by UNAMA and the independent Afghan Commissioner for Human Rights. This is an important mechanism to ensure that the Afghan people can enjoy their liberties, guaranteed in the constitution, and that they can participate in the political decision-making process, especially in the provinces.

Mr. Muñoz (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like to join those who have conveyed condolences to you upon the unfortunate air accident in your country yesterday. We welcome the valuable information on Afghanistan provided by Mr. Jean Arnault, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. We share his concern about the deteriorating security situation in the country: attacks against international humanitarian personnel, United Nations agencies, the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and the Afghan provisional government are grave and deplorable. We regret, for example, that Médecins sans frontières has

been obliged to close down its operations in this country, after having worked there for 24 years, as a result of attacks which have led to the death of five of its workers. Another focus of destabilization has been an increase in violent clashes among factions, particularly those that we have heard of recently in Herat, Badghis and in the district of Shinda, among others.

The security situation has a direct impact on many aspects of the political process and the very stability of the transitional Government, as well as on economic growth and development. This is why NATO's contribution is so important as have been Operation Enduring Freedom, the provincial reconstruction teams and the support to reform the security sector. Nevertheless, the Council should study additional alternatives to deal with these tremendous challenges.

Members of the monitoring team from the Security Council's Sanctions Committee on Al Qaeda and the Taliban that I am chairing made a recent visit to Afghanistan where a series of meetings were held with representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of the Interior, the National Security Council, the Board on National Security, as well as with Mr. Arnault and with personnel from the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.

Many of the points made in the report of the Secretary-General were observed by our panel of experts as well. In particular, I should like to emphasize that, as observed in the report, the Taliban continues to constitute a real threat to the reconstruction and stability of the country, and containing this organization is crucial. I recommend that you read the initial report prepared by our team which will be distributed today as an official document.

With regard to the holding of national presidential elections we would like to emphasize the progress that has been made. Recently, information has been provided regarding the effort entailed in this attempt and we never could have imagined even just a few months ago that more than 10 million voters would have been registered in which women represent 41 per cent. We praise the difficult work achieved by the hundreds of electoral workers that are committed to support this important process in reconstructing the country. We also find it very painful to learn about the attacks against such workers.

Despite the progress that has been made in the electoral process which fills us with hope that we will continue to make headway in implementing the Bonn Agreement, we nevertheless must stress how concerned we are that it became possible to assure the necessary security conditions to ensure free and just elections, in view of the series of threats that have been issued by the Taliban. We agree with what was said in the report that it is indispensable for there to be a clear-cut increase in international assistance in the security field.

Among the challenges that have been mentioned by previous speakers and which still persist are delays in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, and the troubling increase in the elicit cultivation of poppies and of drug trafficking in general. We know that this has made it possible to finance many of the groups and factions that are responsible for such attacks and raids that have occurred in recent days and months.

We would like to emphasize the courage, the effort and the enthusiasm to press ahead in the reconstruction of the State, as demonstrated by the Afghan people, as well as by the Government of President Karzai, despite all the difficulties. Finally, we would like to praise the excellent and devoted work carried out by Mr. Jean Arnault and his team in UNAMA and we wish them great success in their undertaking.

Mr. Lucas (Angola): At the outset we would like to express our regrets for the air accidents yesterday in the Russian Federation. Please convey to your Government and to the relatives of the victims the condolences of the Angolan delegation.

We thank you, Sir, for convening this public meeting to consider the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. We also thank Mr. Jean Arnault, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for his update of the report with the latest developments in the electoral process in Afghanistan.

We praise his efforts and those of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) in the building of a nation free from scourges of extremist violence, factionalism and a narcotics industry. We have to acknowledge our great concern over the ongoing situation in Afghanistan. The report presents a mixed picture, with important achievements

in a number of areas, as well as serious problems against a background of a "tenuous security situation that threatens the gains of the Bonn process" (*S/2004/634, summary*).

The report states a number of instances, particularly in the security sector, which are cause of great concern. The deteriorating security situation in areas of the country previously secured should be addressed resolutely as the report states. NATO's recent decision to deploy extra troops is a clear and welcome response to this challenge which represents the international community's renewed willingness for a firmer commitment to Afghanistan.

As portrayed in the report, it is praiseworthy to note the significant progress in reforms carried through in the area of public administration, fiscal management and in economic and social development. Serious domestic political commitment and coordinated international support have yielded impressive results. The other side of the coin is quite different and worrisome indeed. The report portrays slow progress in the development of the Afghan National Army, with a little of over 10 per cent of the targets met, which shows the need for a long-term sustained presence of international security forces in the country.

It portrays insufficient progress in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), with some 20 per cent of the target having been attained; this evidences the need to put an end to the military factions, which are the main factors standing in the way of a comprehensive programme of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration.

The report also mentions the acute need for Afghanistan to have a trained and properly equipped national police force. The force at present stands at less than 50 per cent of the target strength, which highlights the need to accelerate international support for the Afghan police.

The report further notes slow progress in justice-sector reform; a human rights situation which is a continuing source of serious concern; forced land evictions and illegal occupation of land; and the threat of Afghanistan becoming a narco-State in the "worst-case scenario", as the report puts it (*S/2004/634, para. 40*), with a dramatic upsurge in narcotics cultivation, processing and trafficking. All of this requires a very determined fight against entrenched informal actors, whose existence is a threat and an obstacle to the full exercise of sovereignty by the Afghan State.

In the coming months, Afghanistan will face decisive challenges. It is our belief that, if these are overcome successfully, the whole process of nation-building will be energized. The electoral process, which will take place after October, might have an enormous political and psychological impact on Afghan life and might make a decisive contribution to accelerating and correcting the course of the choices taken by the Afghan authorities and by the international community. It is my delegation's view that the international community, in stepping up its efforts in this most important endeavour, should concentrate all available resources in order to guarantee an orderly, fair and just electoral process; this would make a decisive contribution to the devolution of sovereignty to the Afghan people and to the strengthening of that people's fundamental rights and freedoms.

The voter registration programme has already scored impressive success. Above all, the great participation of women is a beacon of hope, showing a will for the deliverance of the most oppressed citizens of Afghanistan. We are aware that the security situation could negatively affect the electoral process. The forces of reaction to the positive things that have taken place in Afghanistan will most probably step up their efforts to disrupt the process and try to prevent the Afghan people from determining its future in freedom and in peace.

We consider that the recent response of NATO to the strenuous and repeated appeals by the Secretary-General for more international forces in Afghanistan and the decision to deploy extra troops to support the upcoming elections are welcome developments that reflect an increasingly good understanding by the international community of what is at stake in Afghanistan. With the success of the future ballot ensured, decisive action will be taken, with far-reaching consequences for the future of the Afghan people.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): I take this opportunity to express to the Government and the people of the Russian Federation the Brazilian Government's sorrow at the tragic deaths that were a consequence of last night's aerial disasters. We extend our heartfelt condolences to the bereaved families.

I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting. My delegation is grateful to Mr. Jean Arnault, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan, for his presentation of the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Afghanistan (S/2004/634), which covers the period since 19 March.

The report of the Secretary-General describes the state of affairs in Afghanistan in all its complexity. Its paragraphs 53 and 54 may well amount to a synthesis of the present situation: on the one hand, the Government is making commendable progress in areas such as public administration, fiscal management and aspects of private sector and economic and social development; on the other, there is timid advance in areas such as the rule of law, land management, disarmament and counter-narcotics. The report makes it very clear that difficulties arise whenever

> "the reform process comes up against entrenched informal actors and networks whose interests are abetted by a weak State that is unable to apply force or to impose formal rules throughout the country". (*S/2004/634, para. 54*)

Success ultimately depends on promoting the increased legitimacy of the Government — hence the core importance of the electoral process — and on the effectiveness of its organs and institutions, including the police, the courts and the armed forces. It is the responsibility of both the Afghans themselves and the international community, working together, to create the conditions for a better future.

Preparation for elections has made sizeable progress, even against the unfavourable backdrop of violence and terrorism. The registration of voters, which closed last Friday, totalled more than 10 million Afghans, and the significant proportion of women among them is indeed a very positive, albeit uneven, development. Also, the accreditation of 18 candidates for the presidential elections and the registration of 30 political parties seem to reflect the diversity of the Afghan people and their interest and mobilization regarding the political process.

The completion of a truly representative vote will depend, however, on the provision of adequate security for the 5,000 polling sites operating across the country; this has been mentioned by other speakers. We concur with the Secretary-General that a net increase in international security assistance is therefore indispensable in time to protect the electoral campaign in early September and beyond the holding of the parliamentary election.

It is no secret that the already fragile security situation has been deteriorating in recent months. Terrorist attacks in the whole territory against targets of the Government, the Afghan army and the international presence have become commonplace and risk undermining the peace effort. An eloquent reminder of how the lack of security is compromising the viability of humanitarian assistance was given last month when the organization Médecins sans Frontières felt compelled to interrupt its humanitarian activities in the country. Further deployment of troops by NATO, following the recent summit in Istanbul, is taking place, as it seems that an expansion of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) presence in Afghanistan is needed.

Yet we note with satisfaction the gradual strengthening of the Afghan National Army — with all the limitations that are pointed out in the report — and the commitment of the international community to increase its support for the reconstruction of the Afghan National Police. National capacity-building in the enforcement of the rule of law is a key factor for long-term stability and should be carried out in parallel with the actions taken by the international community.

A thorough process of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) is also required for any improvement in the security field, and for tackling the power of warlords and terrorists determined to sabotage the peace process. The report shows, however, that DDR is facing considerable challenges and remains behind schedule. The containment of rising activities by militias throughout the country depends on some vigorous progress in this area.

Drug trafficking has become a thriving and lucrative activity that finances the acquisition of illegal weapons and the formation of militias, with all kinds of destabilizing consequences. The alarming drug situation requires further action. Eradication initiatives have had very limited success, and drug trafficking still accounts for more than half of the gross domestic product. More effective strategies to combat drugs must be urgently devised and pursued. The recent issuance by the Council of Ulemas of a religious decree condemning narcotics and other related activities can

be instrumental in discouraging the cultivation of opium poppy. Also, we welcomed the follow-up on the implementation of the Declaration on Counter-Narcotics within the Framework of the Kabul Declaration on Good-Neighbourly Relations.

Unfortunately, there are disquieting reports that systematic human rights violations continue to take place. The situation of women has shown little progress. We reaffirm our conviction that the programmes of the Independent Human Rights Commission of Afghanistan are key in dealing with systematic human rights violations that still occur in the country and that such programmes must be reinforced and supported by local and international authorities.

Persisting problems in the security area as well as in the promotion of human rights affect the commendable role of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in repatriating hundreds of thousands of Afghans that are still internally displaced or who are taking refuge in neighbouring countries. That was the case last week, when some 13,000 Afghans were prevented from returning home due to clashes in the western part of the country.

Promoting security and stability remains a vital challenge. The new rise of violence, factionalism and the narcotics industry expose the frailty of the achievements reached since the Bonn Conference. Those achievements risk being undermined if effective responses are not provided. The current state of affairs, being so complex, demands the energetic engagement not only of the Afghans themselves but also of the international community, which must live up to the many commitments it made in the past. The upcoming elections certainly constitute a crucial test on the road towards democracy and peace in Afghanistan.

Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): First, Sir, I join preceding speakers in expressing our deep condolences in connection with the double aviation tragedy that occurred in your country yesterday. Please convey our condolences to the Russian Government and the families of the victims.

I express our thanks to Special Representative Mr. Arnault for the comprehensive briefing he has just given the Council in presenting the report of the Secretary-General (S/2004/634) and for his work at the head of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA).

As the representative of the Netherlands will make a statement on behalf of the European Union, with which Spain fully associates itself, I shall confine myself to making some brief observations.

Despite numerous obstacles, the peace process in Afghanistan continues to advance. Proof of that is the presidential election to be held on 9 October, which will be followed by legislative elections in April 2005, and the success being achieved in the process of voter registration of both men and women. This demonstrates the Afghan people's determination to decide its own destiny.

The elections must constitute a fundamental milestone in the consolidation of democracy, stability and the future prosperity of Afghanistan. However, it has to be acknowledged that the increase in terrorist, criminal and factional violence in recent months, with numerous attacks on humanitarian personnel and attacks aimed at undermining the progress of the electoral process, makes it even more urgent to boost efforts to establish basic conditions of security, in conformity with the commitments of the Bonn Agreement, ratified at the Berlin Conference on Afghanistan.

The terrorist violence of Al Qaeda and Taliban elements, the violence caused by warlords and armed militias and their connections with the drug traffic continue to be the principal threats to the progress made in the pacification, stabilization and reconstruction of the country. Thus, as the Secretary-General notes in his report, international security assistance is of vital importance to Afghanistan.

In that context, and in reply to the request made by the Secretary-General and President Karzai and the appeal to troop-contributing countries contained in resolution 1536 (2004), the Government of Spain, with the support of Parliament and in the framework of the agreements reached in the recent NATO summit, authorized last month an increase of up to 540 troops in the Spanish contingent of the International Security Assistance Force in order to provide a field hospital, complemented by means of transport, four helicopters and two transport airplanes and one support and protection unit. In addition, as part of that operation, the Spanish Government authorized the temporary deployment of an infantry battalion with a maximum of

500 additional troops to support the electoral process in Afghanistan. I have the honour to inform the Council that the new deployment of Spanish forces began on 17 August and that those forces will be fully operational in the course of September, in time to contribute to the security and good conduct of the presidential election of 9 October.

Despite the great importance of the electoral process, it should not lead us to forget the urgent need to make progress in areas where progress so far has been too slow. Specifically, I am referring to the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme, the fight against drug trafficking, land management, and the development of the rule of law in all its aspects. In the area of fundamental rights, including the improvement of the situation of women, where much remains to be done, the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission is doing a valuable job, which we should all acknowledge and support.

In short, all those elements I have mentioned — security, elections, disarmament, the return of refugees, the rule of law, the fight against drugs and human rights issues — all those elements are interrelated. For that reason, it is urgent to make progress on all those fronts in a simultaneous, harmonious and integrated manner. Only that way will the reform and reconstruction of the country reach a satisfactory conclusion for the good of the Afghan people and the entire region.

Mr. Baja (Philippines): We join colleagues in extending our deepest condolences to you, Sir, your Government and the families of the victims of the two aeroplane crashes that occurred in southern Russia.

We thank you, Mr. President, for convening this public meeting at this crucial juncture of the peace process in Afghanistan. We also thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Jean Arnault, for the very informative update he has given the Council on the preparations to be undertaken to ensure full, free, fair and credible elections in Afghanistan.

The Afghan people have shown to the world that they are ready and determined to put their destiny in their own hands. That is evidenced by the more than 10 million Afghans who have registered, 4 million of whom are women. The number of candidates for president — 18 — who want to govern a difficult country like Afghanistan is another manifestation of that determination. As the Secretary-General said, through voter registration, the people of Afghanistan are showing that they are prepared to seize the opportunity offered by the Bonn process to build a new country and a new State, and to take risks in the process. We have also noted that overseas voting has been extended to the Afghans in Iran and in Pakistan. It would be interesting to observe the dynamics of that aspect, as it may well affect the results of the elections. One can hazard a guess that the elections in those locations will be more trouble-free, fair and credible.

We note the positive developments and the preparations being undertaken for the electoral process. However, like other delegations, we find it disturbing that, although there are only about five weeks left before the presidential elections, the security situation in the country has deteriorated significantly. The security challenges to be addressed include violent incidents such as those in recent weeks, even in areas in northern and western Afghanistan previously considered to be low-risk. There has also been insufficient progress in the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of factional forces. Many of the violent incidents in recent weeks have involved factional fighting and the use of heavy weapons. Thus, the ability of the factional forces to undermine the results of the elections underscores the urgency of accelerating the DDR process. Again, increased acts of violence have been directed at the staff and offices of the electoral secretariat and at United Nations workers, jeopardizing the electoral process. And, as has been pointed out, there have been increased attacks against humanitarian non-governmental organizations — particularly the killing of five staff of Medecins Sans Frontières, which resulted in the withdrawal of its operations from Afghanistan.

The tenuous security situation has been created by the forces of extremism, factionalism and the fast-growing narcotics industry. Financial gains from the burgeoning narcotics industry are being used to further the activities of extremists. That situation not only puts the electoral process in critical jeopardy in the short term, but also very adversely affects the various aspects of the peace process — DDR, governance, the human rights situation, recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction — in the long term. The continued presence of humanitarian organizations in Afghanistan

is essential, because their departure would adversely affect much-needed humanitarian and development activities in the country.

My delegation fully supports the Secretary-General's conclusion on the vital importance of security assistance to Afghanistan to ensure the holding of a free, fair and credible electoral process there. That in turn will provide the political legitimacy and the foundation for the elected Government to make decisions and to undertake the actions needed to advance all aspects of the peace process. Indeed, as the Secretary-General said, the international community cannot afford to waver now. The international community should match the courage and determination that the Afghan people are showing. Everyone has a stake in successful nation-building in Afghanistan, because global security is affected by what transpires in Afghanistan.

Mr. Zinsou (Benin) (*spoke in French*): Mr. President, my delegation expresses our deepest condolences to you, to your Government and to the families of the victims for the loss of two Russian passenger aeroplanes.

We are grateful to you for organizing this public meeting to consider the situation in Afghanistan and its consequences for international peace and security, which is the subject of a complete report (S/2004/634) submitted by the Secretary-General for the Council's consideration. We should like to express our great appreciation to Mr. Arnault, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan, for having briefly presented to us its broad outlines.

In the past few years, Afghanistan has made significant progress on the path of normalization. That progress is unquestionably to the credit of the Afghan Government, which is guiding the country's destiny against all obstacles on the path laid out by the Bonn and Berlin international conferences. We also attribute that progress to the international community, which has assisted the peace process begun in the country in December 2001. The important stages that have been successfully completed would not have been possible without the constant mobilization of bilateral and multilateral partners for the restoration of the rule of law and for national reconciliation and reconstruction in Afghanistan.

The Secretary-General refers in his report to the many constraints preventing the Government from moving forward at the desired pace in building the foundations of a democratic State resolutely committed to promoting sustainable development. In the report, he highlights the steps that must be taken to overcome those obstacles. We believe that the question of strengthening the Government's legitimacy is crucial, because a cause-and-effect relationship is established between that legitimacy and eliminating resistance by the informal actors and networks that characterize the nature of power in Afghanistan.

For our part, we link the question of legitimacy directly to the holding of the elections, whose preparations are under way in the Joint Election Management Body. We welcome the remarkable progress made in establishing voter lists, which proves that the Afghan people truly aspire to democracy. We understand the objective reasons that compelled the Joint Election Management Body to revise the electoral calendar. We believe that the Afghan Government should do its utmost to create optimum conditions for the holding of free, transparent and truly democratic elections. In that regard, only the happy outcome of the process could validate the Government's many efforts to put the legal and institutional framework in place and to register the electoral body.

Quite rightly, it is essential to guarantee appropriate security conditions. That is a demand that challenges the international community, because it requires a marked increase in international security assistance. From that perspective, the assessment of the situation in terms of security in the country is very disquieting with regard to the resurgence of violence throughout the country — particularly violence directed against the electoral process and against humanitarian assistance personnel, which we condemn.

The many incidents cited in the report show the gravity of the situation. That raises questions about the possibility of holding the elections in the current conditions, and it directly affects the increase in human rights violations. We believe that the international community must find ways to help Afghanistan to consistently carry out the programme of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to limit the clashes among the factions, which are reaching unprecedented intensity. We welcome the efforts made in that area, and we particularly welcome the end of registration and the beginning of the cantonment of heavy weapons. Special attention should be devoted to problems related to guarding the cantonment sites.

Similarly, we welcome the success of the international conference on Afghanistan and its efforts to restore the police force in Afghanistan, as well as the commitment by 26 donor countries to mobilize the necessary resources for that purpose.

We agree with the Secretary-General's positive assessment of the decision taken by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) summit in Istanbul, which met at the end of June 2004, to deploy new troops in order to allow the elections to proceed smoothly.

Here we would like to repeat the appeal made by the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) for assistance to registered political parties that do not have the necessary resources to conduct electoral campaigns. For this purpose, we should also guarantee them equitable access to the State-run television and radio stations outside Kabul.

We welcome the arrangements made to facilitate the return of refugees and allow those who are still abroad to exercise their right to vote. We cannot fail to mention here our concern regarding the resistance to the campaign against drugs, which must be continued in order to reduce the negative impact drug trade has on the situation in the country. We would like here to repeat the appeal made by the Secretary-General for increased assistance to Afghanistan in order to continue this campaign in close cooperation with countries in the region.

In conclusion, we would like to pay tribute to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Jean Arnault, for his activities at the head of UNAMA under, as we all know, difficult conditions.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): Mr. President, let us join others in expressing our deepest condolences to you, Sir, and to the people of the Russian Federation. Please accept our heartfelt condolences for the loss of innocent lives in the two plane crashes in your country yesterday.

I would like to begin by thanking Mr. Jean Arnault, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for his briefing to the Council on the current situation in Afghanistan.

President Karzai has just completed a two-day official visit to Islamabad, in which he held wide-ranging talks on a number of issues with President Musharraf and Prime Minister Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain. At the end of the talks, President Karzai said that the outcome of that discussion was the reaffirmation of brotherly ties between the two countries and the reaffirmation of our joint struggle against terrorism. President Musharraf, for his part, stated that anybody trying to carry out terrorist activities in Afghanistan or to disrupt the election process will not be allowed to do so from Pakistan. We will act against them, he declared. The Pakistan army is operating very strongly against Al Qaeda. We know that they are on the run; they are dispersed and displaced from a number of valleys which were their sanctuaries.

Thus, Pakistan is sparing no effort to assist Afghanistan in all possible fields, and especially security. As we have heard from Mr. Arnault, security in Afghanistan remains a major concern. We agree with that assessment. Without security, there can be no stability, no progress in the political process and no reconstruction or recovery.

Afghanistan now faces a major challenge in the forthcoming elections. Pakistan attaches great importance to this important landmark of the Bonn process. It is equally important that these elections are free, fair and credible. While we are pleased to note that some 10 million Afghan voters have been registered, we remain concerned that sufficient registration has not taken place in the south and south-eastern parts of Afghanistan, mainly due to security concerns. At the same time, we remain concerned that vested interests in powerful warlords will seek to undermine or unfairly influence the electoral process. Therefore we believe it is of the utmost importance for the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) to provide early, effective and enhanced security for the elections throughout the country.

Pakistan is extending full cooperation and support to the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the Government of Afghanistan in their preparations for the out-of-country participation of Afghan refugees in Pakistan in the 9 October presidential elections. To this effect, Pakistan has signed a memorandum of understanding with UNAMA and the Afghan Government on 20 July. We have also pledged $5 million for that purpose. Currently, Pakistan is facilitating the movement of UNAMA and IOM personnel to various refugee camps located in the north-west frontier province and Baluchistan.

While we are pleased that the Afghan refugees in Pakistan will be participating in the presidential elections, we hope that they will also have an opportunity to participate in future elections for the parliament. These people are Afghan citizens and, as such, they retain their democratic rights to vote in any future Afghan elections. Those Afghans who are currently in Pakistan are not economic migrants, but refugees who fled war and suffering in their home country. We hope that, ultimately, ways will be found to return and repatriate all Afghans currently in Pakistan to their places of origin in Afghanistan.

The threats to Afghanistan's security lie inside Afghanistan, and we agree that these threats arise from faction leaders, from criminal lords and from extremists, including Al Qaeda and the Taliban. But as President Karzai himself stated on 12 July, the warlords and their private armies are the greatest threat to Afghanistan's security, even more than the Taliban.

An article that appeared in the journal *Foreign Affairs* three months ago, by Kathy Gannon, who knows Afghanistan well, stated the following:

> "The warlords have now ruled the country for two years and Afghanistan seems to be degenerating into a sort of narco-State, which could spin out of control. Not only are the warlords complicit in drug-running and corruption but, according to Afghanistan's Human Rights Committee, they are also guilty of abusing and harassing the population. The warlords have stolen people's homes, arbitrarily arrested their enemies and tortured them in private jails."

The primary mistake, in our view, has been to rely on the warlords and factional forces to provide stability in Afghanistan. The result of this mistake is the creation of security vacuums in large parts of Afghanistan, to which the authority of the central Government does not extend and where lawlessness, corruption and drug trafficking thrive. This has alienated a large part of Afghanistan's society and created the conditions for extremists and others to undermine the political process.

The insecurity in the south and south-east is not difficult to understand. There is, first, alienation due to political exclusion and the activities of drug rings and criminals. These are similar circumstances to those that existed in 1992 and 1993, when the Taliban emerged.

There is also no security presence in the south or south-east. Coalition forces are engaged mainly in anti-terrorist activities. The International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) is deployed in Kabul and Kondoz but has no real presence to provide real security in the south. The Afghan National Army itself is small — 13,500 troops at the moment — and is not in a position to cope with security challenges. Moreover, in the south, it suffers from what I would call an ethnic deficit or imbalance. Until the Afghan national forces are in a position to provide credible security, it will continue to fall on the international forces — and in particular on ISAF — to step into the breech and to create circumstances for security, particularly in the south and south-east. It is our view that, without a substantial increase in ISAF's strength and its robust deployment throughout Afghanistan, there is likely to be no disarmament and no credible demobilization or reintegration of factional forces.

I would like to ask Mr. Jean Arnault how the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) reached the conclusion that the factional militias now number around 50,000, instead of the 100,000 previously estimated. Does that reduction result from the exclusion of militias attached to certain members of the Government, or has some other form of calculation been resorted to that has changed the figure? In our view, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) will proceed when all the factional leaders accept the demobilization and genuine disarmament of their militias, and not their recapping under so-called national commanders. That will not change the nature of the militias.

As the security situation continues to deteriorate and the warlords and criminals wreak havoc, conditions very similar to those that prevailed in 1992-1993 are being recreated. That is when the Taliban emerged. Chaos and insecurity in Afghanistan are once again breeding extremism. Unfortunately, instead of addressing those problems head on, there are some in certain quarters who are seeking to shift the blame for the insecurity in Afghanistan onto Pakistan. There seems to be a compulsion on the part of some, including certain individuals, who wish to find scapegoats for failing to address the real security threats in Afghanistan. Unfortunately as well, even some UNAMA officials seem to be playing into their hands, or playing their game. Pakistan has taken serious note of that, and we will look for assurances of

objectivity and impartiality on the part of the United Nations.

Pakistan has followed a strict hands-off approach to internal developments in Afghanistan. We are extending our full cooperation in the war against terrorism. Our agreement on good-neighbourly relations, the memorandum of understanding on security and narcotics and the functioning of the Pakistan-Afghanistan-United States tripartite commission are clear manifestations of our commitment and of our policy. Pakistan has undertaken the following concrete measures in counter-terrorism to interdict suspects and to check infiltration across the Pakistan-Afghanistan border.

We have deployed 75,000 troops and established 800 posts and a number of forts along the border with Afghanistan. We have absorbed no-go areas in other tribal areas in South Waziristan, Khyber and Mohmend. We have established a quick-reaction force to deal with terrorists. We carry out aerial surveillance of the border and use helicopter-borne troops. We have fenced off a 25-kilometre stretch of the border and installed search lights and video cameras at border crossings. We have established an interdiction force in Baluchistan to prevent infiltration. In addition, the operations of the Pakistan army in South Waziristan Agency continue. Our forces have killed 165 terrorists and militants, including Commander Nek Muhammad, and arrested several hundred others. Our forces are operating in the most inhospitable and difficult terrain. We have lost 100 of our personnel in this operation.

Pakistan is sustaining its efforts despite technical capacity deficits in equipment, unmanned air vehicles, surveillance equipment, attack helicopters, night vision devices and long-range communications systems. We have also persisted in this campaign in the face of fierce opposition from certain extremist groups within Pakistan. There can therefore be no doubt as to our commitment to wipe out the terrorist menace from our region. Our commitment was acknowledged yesterday by President Karzai when he spoke about the reaffirmation of the brotherly ties between Pakistan and Afghanistan and "the reaffirmation of our joint struggle against terrorism".

Security is also essential for reconstruction and development in Afghanistan. But reconstruction will also improve the prospects for security. Pakistan has pledged $100 million for Afghanistan's reconstruction. Those funds are being used in sectors identified by the Afghans themselves. Projects are under way for the development of infrastructure, schools and hospitals; the construction of Turkham-Jalalabad road, which will be completed in July; and the Chaman-Kandahar rail link. Pakistan is also assisting Afghanistan in capacity-building for important State institutions in law enforcement, diplomacy, the judiciary, customs, postal services, taxation, banking, finance, audit and accounts. During President Karzai's visit, we agreed to boost trade further from the $1 billion at which it now stands and we are working together with Afghanistan and Turkmenistan to build a gas pipeline, which holds great potential for the whole region.

We remain concerned, however, that despite the substantive pledges made both at Tokyo and Berlin, Afghanistan continues to receive far less reconstruction than what it requires. Even if pledges from both those conferences are realized, Afghanistan will still receive far less per capita assistance than that provided in similar circumstances provided in other crisis situations.

Two years ago, during President Musharraf's first visit to Kabul, he told President Karzai, "Your plan is our plan". That still remains Pakistan's policy. A peaceful, stable and prosperous Afghanistan is in the best interests of Pakistan. To achieve that objective, we are doing, and we will continue to do, all that we can, including securing the long, difficult and inhospitable border between our two countries.

However, there should be no attempt to underplay the enormity of the internal security and political problems in Afghanistan. Nor should we be complacent about the insufficient levels of security in reconstruction support deployed by the international community in Afghanistan. Much more needs to be done by the international community in all the areas affecting security and reconstruction. Shifting the blame, finding scapegoats for failures in Afghanistan and asking those who are already doing more to do even more is unfair and unacceptable and will be ultimately self-defeating.

Mr. Thomson (United Kingdom): I would like to ask you, Mr. President, please to convey the United Kingdom's condolences to the Government and the people of the Russian Federation on the double air disaster that you suffered yesterday.

My delegation associates itself with the statement to be made shortly by the representative of the Netherlands on behalf of the European Union.

I want to start by thanking Jean Arnault, not only for what I found a very coherent briefing but also for the enormous efforts that his team and he himself have made. We are all focused this morning in particular on the election process, and I think that the high level of voter registration represents, if nothing else, a huge technical achievement by the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) and by Afghan and international election personnel, who have displayed considerable courage and skill in achieving this result.

But it is more than just a technical achievement: it is a major political development. It is a demonstration of the remarkable determination of the Afghan people to exercise their new democratic rights. It is not perfect, but it suggests that the time of the men of violence is coming to an end. There is now a prospect for channelling Afghanistan's development through peaceful political channels. It is eloquent, I think, that the Taliban and other undemocratic forces are, as we have heard this morning, specifically targeting the electoral process. They know that successful elections will be their defeat.

The Istanbul NATO summit in June agreed to the expansion of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF); the subsequent agreement to deploy resources to assist the Afghans to provide security for the electoral process is important. But those resources have to be deployed as quickly as possible. It is equally important that the momentum behind ISAF expansion not be lost and that ISAF now push on into the west of the country.

But Ambassador Akram is not wrong to focus on the situation in the south and the west of the country in particular. We are concerned at the lack of political freedoms there. It is not a question, I think, of asking some to do more than others, but of asking everyone — the international community, including Afghanistan's neighbours — to do even more to support Afghanistan in ensuring that elections are free from intimidation and violence. And I think that Mr. Arnault will agree that it is important to use the remaining days before 9 October to ensure that voter turnout will be high on 9 October among Afghan refugees in Iran and Pakistan as well as inside Afghanistan.

But as many speakers before me have pointed out, promising though electoral registration has been, the security situation remains fragile and very troubling. Beyond the elections, there will still be security challenges. That emphasizes the importance of building capacity to enable Afghans to provide for their own security, even if in the meantime it continues to fall to the international community to provide the necessary security assistance through ISAF and its provincial reconstruction teams, as well as through ongoing coalition activity. So we need to focus also on building the criminal justice system and boosting the delivery of justice and the rule of law. In other words, there are long-term challenges as well as the short-term one of 9 October.

One of those challenges is progress on disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR). Progress has been slow but, as we have heard this morning, there is solid progress to report in the context of the difficult circumstances on the ground. The United Kingdom sees it as vital that the promises or undertakings given by presidential election candidates to disarm or distance themselves from operational control of militia forces are upheld. We think that the period between presidential and parliamentary elections offers a particular opportunity to make rapid advances on DDR. It is important that that opportunity should be seized. The international community must continue to identify ways to offer effective support in this area.

Given our role as lead nation, the United Kingdom knows, perhaps better than others around this table, just how big another long-term challenge is: that of counter-narcotics. We continue to attach the highest priority to tackling drugs in Afghanistan. As the Secretary-General's report (S/2004/634) makes clear, tackling the problem is a daunting challenge. There are no shortcuts to success in what is a hugely complex and long-term problem. If the challenge is to be met, we and others in the international community will need to continue to work together. The building blocks are in place, but we need to consolidate our activity on the ground; of course, increased security across Afghanistan and tackling corrupting will be key.

I wanted to close with a word on human rights, which are a cause for concern. We share the Secretary-General's assessment, and we call on the Afghan Government to consider seriously the forthcoming report by the Office of the United Nations High

Commissioner for Human Rights on human rights violations and on transitional justice.

We see improvements in human rights as inextricably linked to further improvements in security and governance. Once again, concerted international support for the rebuilding of national security and police institutions, together with further disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), will be vital in this respect. But the Afghan Government can also do more, including by stopping the appointment of known human rights violators to Government posts.

Mr. Zhang Yishan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I wish at the outset to convey to the Government and the people of Russia the sorrow and condolences of the Chinese delegation at the two unfortunate aeroplane crashes that took place in Russia yesterday.

I thank Mr. Jean Arnault, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan, for his briefing, and I thank the Secretary-General for his report (S/2004/634).

Four months ago, the Security Council held a public meeting (see S/PV.4941) to welcome the important results of the Berlin Conference. The Afghan Government has made unremitting efforts, with the help of the international community, to promote the Bonn process and to implement the Berlin consensus; a great deal of progress has been achieved. We appreciate the important role played by the United Nations, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA).

The holding of free and fair elections and the establishment of a fully representative Government are priority tasks for Afghanistan. The elections will be an important milestone in the peace process there. We welcome the fact that the timing of presidential and parliamentary elections has been established. The Afghan people place high hopes on the elections for the security and development of their country. Although the voter registration process has seen violent attacks, much encouraging progress has been achieved. This demonstrates that the Afghan people have great confidence and determination with respect to promoting the peace process. Indeed, the successful conduct of the elections and the continued promotion of the process of peace and reconstruction in Afghanistan constitute a daunting task for the Afghan Government and for the international community.

As the report of the Secretary-General states, the increasingly tenuous security situation in Afghanistan threatens the Bonn process. Therefore, firm measures must be taken to tackle terrorism, factionalism and problems related to narcotics. With the presidential elections drawing near, it is even more necessary and urgent to improve the security situation.

Here, let me make a number of observations. First, we support the Afghan Government as it continues with security-sector reform, steps up its work on building the National Army and the National Police, and promotes disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR). It is our sincere hope that all of Afghanistan's ethnic groups will focus on the national interest and will seek common ground, putting aside their differences and seeking unity, all with a view to maintaining national peace and unity and making a common effort towards economic reconstruction and development.

Secondly, counter-narcotics efforts must be made. The cultivation of and trafficking in narcotics have put Afghanistan's political, economic and social development in grave danger, along with regional stability. We appreciate the Afghan Government's counter-narcotics measures and call upon the international community to devote greater attention to Afghanistan and to lend it assistance in this regard. China will continue to work with regional countries to implement the Declaration on Counter-Narcotics within the Framework of the Kabul Declaration on Good-Neighbourly Relations.

Thirdly, we call on the international community to take action in response to the appeal of the Secretary-General and to provide adequate security assistance to Afghanistan, especially to meet security needs during the presidential and parliamentary elections. We welcome the decision of Spain and Italy to send additional peacekeeping troops to Afghanistan. At the same time, the international community should honour its financial commitments to Afghanistan so as to meet the country's financial needs with respect to the elections, security-sector reform and the restoration of the rule of law.

China attaches great importance to the process of peace and reconstruction in Afghanistan and supports it. This year we shall provide $15 million in assistance. China's $1 million in assistance for the elections in Afghanistan will be on the ground by the end of

September. On 10 June 2004, Chinese engineers working in Afghanistan were the victims of a terrorist attack; 11 innocent Chinese engineers sacrificed their lives for the process of peace and reconstruction in Afghanistan. We strongly condemn that violent atrocity and demand that the perpetrators be brought to justice. I wish also to reaffirm that China will not yield to terrorism of any kind and, as it always has, will participate actively in the process of peace and reconstruction in Afghanistan.

Mr. Duclos (France) (*spoke in French*): Mr. President, I would ask you to convey to the Government and the people of the Russian Federation our deepest sorrow at the deaths of your compatriots in the recent air disasters.

France fully endorses the statement to be made shortly by the representative of the Netherlands on behalf of the European Union.

We express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his report (S/2004/634) and to Mr. Jean Arnault, his Special Representative, for his outstanding briefing this morning.

As we meet today, there is no doubt that we must consider a number of concerns related to the situation in Afghanistan. Previous speakers have observed that the report of the Secretary-General notes that progress in security-sector reform remains too slow, that disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) has been inadequate, that counter-narcotics efforts have not been as successful as we would have liked, and that the human rights situation remains poor.

Among such concerns, one must be highlighted: the deterioration of the security situation in recent weeks and months. The reasons for this are undoubtedly many: the increase in factional conflict, the resurgence of the Taliban and perhaps instances of major criminality. Whatever the reasons, it is humanitarian and United Nations personnel who are the victims of this increased lack of security. Here, we wish again absolutely to condemn such violence. A major international organization has been forced to withdraw from Afghanistan. We respect its decision. A discussion about the reasons for its withdrawal has begun. In my view, the best way to conclude that discussion would be to pursue the guilty parties with determination, to arrest them and to bring them to justice. It is very important that justice be done, especially in the case of those odious individuals responsible for crimes against humanitarian personnel and United Nations staff.

In that context, the Special Representative chose to underscore the success — even if it is relative success, it is still very important — in the registration process and the preparations for the presidential election. We believe that Mr. Arnault was right, and we believe that those elements are of great importance for the following three reasons.

First, as others have said before me, it is clear that the determination and the courage shown by the Afghans themselves in carrying out their civic duties are the best response in the face of cynical and pessimistic factors that might sometimes prevail in our analysis. It is clear that it is the resistance of Afghan men and women to the pressure and violence of those wanting to stop them from exercising their rights as citizens that best testifies to the determination of the Afghan people to emerge from the current situation and rebuild the country. At the same time, I should note that what has been done and what is going to be done are remarkable demonstrations of the technical capacities and the courage of the United Nations Mission and other actors that have contributed to this success.

Secondly, we believe that the manner in which the registration process has unfolded defines the next task — an immediate task for the international community — which is to ensure the proper holding of the presidential election and, beyond that, the legislative elections. Naturally, I subscribe to the comments of the Special Representative and other speakers on the importance they attach in this context to creating the best possible security conditions. It is up to all of us to strengthen our efforts in this sphere.

I note that France, for its part, has enhanced its military presence in Afghanistan through the deployment of the European Corps and the Franco-German brigade. A French general is now at the head of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). We have also increased our staff within ISAF itself. We have done likewise within the framework of the coalition, and we are enhancing our efforts in the third training course for officers of the Afghan army. Our military personnel will number between 1,000 and 1,500 in coming days.

Finally, a third reason to underline the electoral process is the great importance of the presidential

election. We believe that with the presidential election a very important page will be turned in today's Afghanistan. We believe that these elections will mark the beginning of the end for those forces attempting to thwart the progress and the reconstruction of Afghanistan. We believe it is important to note that a certain number of efforts and programmes the international community has undertaken for many months now — we recognize their limits and know that they have not had all the impact we would have wished — will at that time start to have an increasing impact and to gain increasing traction once this important page has been turned. That page is quite simply, as Mr. Arnault said, the page of the establishment of a legitimate order that Afghans have accepted in order to take charge of their country.

In conclusion, my country enthusiastically supports the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Jean Arnault. We believe that he has been a messenger of hope today. We are confident that this hope will come to fruition if the international community as a whole continues to rally together and mobilize its assistance of Afghanistan.

Mr. Baali (Algeria) (*spoke in French*): Like my colleagues, I wish to convey to you, Sir, our sincere condolences and profound sympathy in connection with the two aviation catastrophes that have left behind so many bereaved families in Russia.

I welcome Mr. Jean Arnault and thank him for his excellent presentation of the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Afghanistan (S/2004/634) and for the valuable information he has given the Council, in particular with regard to the election calendar and the stakes involved.

The peace process in Afghanistan has reached a crucial phase today — perhaps the most crucial phase — with the holding of the first presidential election, on 9 October, and the legislative elections, to be held in April 2005. These elections, so long awaited by the Afghan people, are an important step in implementing the Bonn process because they will enable the country to lay the first foundations for democracy and to move towards political and institutional stability. We hope that this democratic exercise will lead to the establishment of a representative Government and that the elections will take place in optimal conditions of equity and transparency, as well as of security, whose importance for the success of the elections is evident.

In that context, we welcome the rate of registration. Almost 10 million voters have been registered — 41 per cent of them women. That clearly demonstrates the determination of the Afghan people to fully engage in the process of rebuilding the country. In that context, special tribute should be paid to the members of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), in particular the electoral workers, who have done outstanding work in extremely difficult conditions, sometimes risking their lives.

We welcome the Afghan Government's progress in implementing the work plan adopted at the Berlin conference, in particular in the areas of public administration, budgetary management and economic and social development. However, emphasis must be put on eliminating poverty, strengthening the rule of law and promoting and protecting human rights.

We note that the security situation is increasingly worrisome, and, in fact, we are witnessing an ongoing deterioration of the situation. This risks a negative impact on the holding of elections, a weakening of the peace process and a hindrance to reconstruction efforts. The south and south-east zones, where Taliban and other extremist groups remain militarily active, have seen a renewed outbreak of attacks against the police, the Afghan National Army and humanitarian workers. That has led, among other things, to the withdrawal of Doctors without Borders, whose activities were valued by the entire population. Those attacks have served to deprive the population of the benefits of reconstruction and have slowed the process of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR). Tensions related to the existence of such factions are another source of concern in the north and north-west of the country — previously considered low-risk regions — where grave acts of violence have been committed. That is why it is urgent to vigorously implement the DDR programme and to accelerate the cantonment of heavy weapons — since the progress made in those areas has been insufficient — and to expand the presence of international forces.

Another factor destabilizing the political process is drug production and trafficking, which are a grave threat to the development and security of Afghanistan and require stronger support for the eradication and interdiction measures adopted by the Afghan

Government to put an end to illicit poppy cultivation. We must also encourage the promotion of alternative crops as well as cooperation between Afghanistan and its neighbours aimed at creating a security zone along its borders.

Finally, international support must continue in the area of security to complete the process begun by the Bonn Agreement and to ensure the success of the coming elections. It is also essential to work to discourage inter-factional violence, to facilitate the deployment of Afghan security forces and to help them put an end to the illicit drug trade. In that regard, the decision taken by NATO to increase the forces deployed in Afghanistan is, as the Secretary-General indicated in his report, very encouraging. However, it is important that that decision be implemented swiftly.

Mr. Dumitru (Romania): At the outset, I would like to express to you, Mr. President, and to the people and the Government of the Russian Federation Romania's heartfelt condolences for the tragic accidents involving the two Russian aeroplanes. We also express our deepest sympathy to the bereaved families.

I am pleased to join other delegations in thanking the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan, Mr. Jean Arnault, for his excellent opening briefing, which provided us with a timely and useful update on the situation in Afghanistan. I wish also to thank the Secretary-General for his latest report on the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) (S/2004/634).

Romania aligns itself with the statement to be made shortly by the Permanent Representative of Netherlands on behalf of the European Union. Therefore, I shall confine myself to specific comments.

In less than two months, Afghanistan will be entering the crucial phase of presidential elections. At this time, I do not wish to evoke the symbolism of that essential stage in Afghanistan's democratic transformation, but I do wish to point out a few aspects that, in our view, remain key prerequisites for holding presidential elections. The ultimate objective should be to have credible, fair and free elections. To that end, no effort should be spared by the international community in supporting the Afghans to address the remaining challenges in the coming months: improving the security situation, accelerating the programme of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) and continuing the registration process.

First, given the triad formed by extremist violence, factionalism and the narcotics industry — the main threats to the current situation in Afghanistan — there is undoubtedly a need for a greater focus on security. In particular, the approach of the elections seems to be generating an unprecedented resurgence of activities perpetrated by those who oppose the current political and stabilization processes. In that context, we fully agree with the idea expressed by the Secretary-General in his report that, in order to ensure the conditions for free and fair elections, a net increase in international security assistance remains indispensable. Much more work must also be done to restore a security environment consistent with the expansion of humanitarian and development activities. Equally essential are the security measures requested to ensure greater safety for United Nations personnel and assets.

It is beyond doubt that preventing instability from taking an increased hold in Afghanistan must be matched by the international community's determination to stand by its commitments. In that regard, Romania welcomes the decisions adopted in Istanbul at the NATO summit, and we believe that setting up new provincial reconstruction teams and committing new resources are crucial for the future of Afghanistan. NATO's increased contribution in Afghanistan demonstrates once more the political weight and effective impact of cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations in stabilization processes.

For its part, Romania remains committed in Afghanistan. Our contribution of self-sustaining troops and personnel to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and to Operation Enduring Freedom amounts to 500 personnel. At the same time, Romania will continue to contribute military technology and personnel to help build the capacity of Afghanistan's national armed forces.

As a number of successes achieved in the areas of public administration and economic and social development demonstrate, international support must be strongly associated with the Afghan authorities' own efforts to complete the process of reforming the national security institutions and extending authority throughout the country. That is the only way to make a difference in overcoming the obstacles engendered

both by decades of war and by the very nature of power in Afghanistan in recent years.

Secondly, with regard to voter registration, we are enthusiastic about UNAMA's reports on the impressive number of Afghans who have registered to vote, and we especially appreciate the fact that women account for some 41 per cent of that number. UNAMA deserves a strong commendation for the efforts undertaken in that regard. Moreover, in view of the parliamentary elections to be held by April next year, we would like to stress the importance of further sustained and coordinated actions aimed at achieving a multi-ethnic balance at the executive and legislative levels. The regional imbalances in total voter registration rates should be a serious warning in that regard.

Thirdly, regarding the implementation of DDR, we believe there is a need for further progress in order to ensure a safer environment for the holding of the elections. However, the issue of reintegrating former soldiers should be cautiously approached, particularly in the light of the current high unemployment level and taking into account its potential for generating further instability.

Finally, in view of the general partnership between Afghanistan and the international community - as reaffirmed at the Berlin conference — we would like to briefly highlight the potential of regional cooperation for boosting the stability and development of Afghanistan. The declaration adopted at the high-level conference on regional economic cooperation, held in May in Bishkek, rightly stressed the importance of regional cooperation for Afghanistan's recovery and for stability in the region. Romania strongly encourages Afghanistan and its neighbouring countries to develop concrete projects of cooperation at the regional level, both in the economic field and in combating narco-trafficking.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the Russian Federation.

First of all, I express my gratitude to all those who addressed words of sympathy to my country in connection with the two simultaneous air crashes that took dozens of lives: thank you all, colleagues.

I am pleased to welcome Mr. Jean Arnault, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan, and to thank him for his detailed briefing on the situation in that country. We are grateful to the Secretary-General for his most recent report (S/2004/634) on the situation in Afghanistan and on the activities of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA). We agree with the report's key conclusion: that pride of place must continue to be given to ensuring security in Afghanistan. Of special concern is the fact that, with the date of the Afghan presidential elections approaching, there has been an increase in the wave of terrorist acts carried out by extremists from the Taliban and other anti-Government factions. There has been an increase in the number of raids targeting national and international security forces, staff of public institutions and humanitarian personnel. There have been more attacks on polling sites and more threats to voter registration teams. It is obvious that the foes of normalization of the situation are attempting, by any means possible, to undermine the process of preparing for the presidential election.

We endorse the Secretary-General's view that decisive measures must urgently be taken to correct the situation. We must not underestimate the threat posed in Afghanistan by the destabilizing activities of the Taliban and Al Qaeda. We have repeatedly drawn attention to the grave threat posed by a renewal of the Taliban's military and political potential, by the continuing infiltration of fighters into Afghanistan and by the emergence of a neo-Taliban faction. We believe that the notion of so-called moderate Taliban and attempts to flirt with them can only lead to serious consequences and will nullify everything that has been achieved.

But it appears that the focus of recent efforts has been shifting from a campaign against the Taliban and the drug lords who support them to disarmament, primarily of field commanders in the north, the overwhelming majority of whom are loyal to the current regime and are prepared to defend it.

Let there be no doubt of our concern at the scanty progress made in the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of Afghan factions. The explosive security situation dictates the need urgently to accelerate the process of weapons collection. But this must be carried out not in isolated regions but throughout the country.

Moscow has taken note of the recent decision of the Joint Electoral Management Body to stagger the presidential and parliamentary elections. But the

serious danger remains that as result of that decision — which violates the documents of the Bonn and Berlin conferences — the country will face an explosive situation fraught with new armed resistance and internal fragmentation of power structures.

Success in the political process in Afghanistan is intimately linked with maintaining the central coordinating role of the United Nations in an Afghan settlement. International institutions are currently increasing the level of their activities in Afghanistan. NATO, Eurocorps within the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), coalition forces and many non-governmental organizations are present. There has been an increase in the number of provincial reconstruction teams and more frequent proposals that those teams and ISAF be merged under NATO leadership. We proceed from the premise that the parameters for the involvement of international institutions, including NATO, must be unambiguously regulated through a Security Council mandate. Only in that way can we ensure the necessary legitimacy for international efforts in the security sphere.

Effective solutions to the problem of Afghanistan are intimately linked with stemming the growth of illegal drug production and trafficking. The Afghan Government's action in that regard has had little effect to date. The danger that Afghanistan will become a State whose economy is dominated by illegal drug trafficking is increasingly coming to pass. The further development of the situation in that direction would threaten efforts to restore and rebuild the country, and in the long term would threaten peace and stability throughout the region.

In that context, Russia is convinced of the importance of devising a comprehensive international counter-narcotics strategy, including the establishment of a security belt along the Afghan borders. We believe that the key task of the Security Council at this stage is to provide the Afghan authorities and the international community with all possible assistance in strengthening their action to prevent the further destabilization of the situation in Afghanistan on the eve of elections and to ensure the most favourable conditions possible for the holding of those elections.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

The next speaker is the representative of Afghanistan, to whom I give the floor.

Mr. Farhâdi (Afghanistan): Allow me, Mr. President, to express to you our deep sorrow and sympathy in relation to the two tragic airline accidents that took place yesterday in Russia. Through you, we convey our condolences to the Russian Government, to the Russian people and to the families of the victims.

Allow me also to present to you, Sir, my sincere congratulations on your new assignment as Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations and to congratulate you on assuming the presidency of the Council for the current month. I thank you and the other members of the Council for including on this month's agenda an open meeting on the situation in Afghanistan. Such a meeting provides an opportunity to assess the overall situation in Afghanistan in the presence of the Afghan delegation.

For almost three years the Afghan Government has been making major progress in implementing the Bonn Agreement, which was concluded on 5 December 2001. At present, we are reaching the final stages of the implementation of the Bonn Agreement. The presidential election is going to be held on 9 October 2004 and the parliamentary election will be held in April 2005. The political dynamism and enthusiasm generated among Afghans by those elections can be observed in the high number of voter registrations. According to recent data, more than 10.5 million Afghans have received their voter registration cards. More than 41 per cent of registrants are women.

Different political and social organizations and political actors on Afghanistan's political scene are involved in political debate and discourse in these two historic elections. These positive political developments are a major blow to those extremist groups that were engaged in the propaganda of intimidation and threats directed at persons participating in the democratic process. The attempt to derail elections through violent attacks failed. It is important to mention that the United Nations, in its impartial and central role, has performed its assignments in preparing the election and registering voters. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Jean Arnault, and the staff of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) have played a major role throughout that process.

The Afghan delegation is thankful to Mr. Jean Arnault for his comprehensive briefing at today's meeting, during which he ably updated the Secretary-

General's report of 12 August 2004 (S/2004/634). I am also thankful to the members of the Security Council for their active participation in the debate on the situation in Afghanistan. They have provided us with important views and ideas about the subject.

Achievements in Afghanistan have generally tended towards the consolidation of peace and security. However, despite that predominant trend, attempts to sabotage and destabilize the situation continue by remnants of Al Qaeda and Taliban groups, particularly along the eastern and southern borders of Afghanistan — attempts that are aimed at challenging the authority and legitimacy of the Afghan Government. Those elements have their network support in certain politico-religious circles outside Afghanistan. The armed forces of Afghanistan, the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and the anti-terrorist coalition forces are actively involved in thwarting the subversive and terrorist attacks of extremist groups, which are mainly targeting the innocent civilian population, relief workers and those who are working for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the country.

The major development of the past year was the adoption of a Security Council resolution regarding the expansion of the ISAF beyond Kabul and the establishment of provincial reconstruction teams. The Afghan Government welcomed the adoption of that resolution.

NATO, which took over command of ISAF in August 2003, has played a beneficial role in efforts to consolidate peace. Another major development in that context was the transfer of ISAF command to the Eurocorps. Afghanistan is thankful to NATO and welcomes the Eurocorps command and its commander General Jean-Louis Py. We also appreciate the remarkable contribution of Lieutenant-General Rick Hillier, the outgoing Canadian commander. Afghanistan looks forward to the expansion of ISAF as planned, to assure a secure environment during the coming elections.

As we have indicated in previous meetings of the Council, economic recovery and reconstruction in Afghanistan, security and improving the lives of the Afghan people are closely interrelated. Visible rehabilitation and reconstruction enhance the authority of the Government and greatly contribute to the peace process. The Government should have the ability to provide services, launch major projects, build roads and create jobs. Thousands of ex-combatants should be reintegrated. Only the viable creation of economic growth can assure successful implementation of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes. The active participation of the international community and financial assistance to reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts in Afghanistan contribute greatly to the restoration of democracy and the consolidation of peace and stability. The full disbursement of commitments made at the Berlin Conference, which was held from 31 March to 1 April 2004, is essential in that context.

During the recent official visit of President Karzai to Pakistan, from 22 and 23 August 2004, President Musharraf held out a categorical assurance to the Afghan President, assuring him that he would not allow anybody to use Pakistan's territory for actions against the interests of Afghanistan. Anybody trying to carry out terrorist activities in Afghanistan or to disrupt the election process or create law and order problems will not be allowed from Pakistan. Pakistan will act against them.

In conclusion, I wish to assure the Council that there is no alienation of any ethnic group in Afghanistan, including in the southern and eastern border areas. The Taliban emerged in southern Afghanistan and recruited from the border areas only at the end of 1994. The many scholarly books describing the facts that have been published to date about the Taliban should be read if we want to understand the events of today. We hope that the time will come when Doctors Without Borders will resume their valuable services in Afghanistan.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): I thank the representative of Afghanistan for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of the Netherlands. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Van den Berg (Netherlands): At the outset, Mr. President, I extend my sincere condolences, through you, to the Russian people and to the Government of the Russian Federation on the tragic loss of lives in the two air crashes that occurred yesterday.

I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The candidate countries Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey and Croatia, the countries of the stabilization and association process and potential candidates Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the European Free Trade Association countries Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway, members of the European Economic Area align themselves with this statement.

The European Union welcomes the decision announced by the Joint Electoral Management Body to hold presidential elections in Afghanistan in October 2004. Those elections are a key requirement under the Bonn Agreement of December 2001 and represent a new milestone in the process of constructing a democratic, stable and prosperous Afghanistan. Furthermore, the Joint Electoral Management Body has announced that the elections for the lower house of parliament and the local elections will be held in spring 2005.

The European Union welcomes the fact that an encouraging number of presidential candidates have put forward their candidacy. This is an important landmark on the path towards democracy. The European Union understands that technical and logistical reasons made it impossible to hold both sets of elections concurrently this autumn. It is now important to use the remaining months to ensure that successful preparations continue apace and that all conditions are met for free and fair elections according to the timetable set by the Joint Electoral Management Body.

In that context, the European Union wishes to command the Joint Electoral Management Body's tremendous achievement with the registration of nearly all eligible voters in Afghanistan and welcomes the fact that, among those registered voters, 41 per cent are women. The European Union is supporting and assisting the Afghan Government in the preparation of elections, inter alia through financial assistance and the Democracy and Election Support Mission.

The European Union condemns the violence against election workers, which has resulted in several casualties. Similarly, the European Union is also gravely concerned about the deplorable murders and attacks directed against international humanitarian personnel and those working for the reconstruction of Afghanistan. The high levels of insecurity in several areas of Afghanistan are a reminder of the need to provide security during the elections, to rebuild the Afghan army and to intensify the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process. The commitment and engagement of the Afghan Transitional Authority in this regard is crucial.

Counter-narcotics is another important area. The European Union welcomes the recent seizures by the Afghan Special Narcotics Force and urges the Afghan Government and the international community to work together to tackle the problem, which affects almost every area of Afghanistan's development and security.

Afghanistan has made enormous progress in the past years. Many challenges remain to be overcome, and, although several of those may seem daunting, the European Union believes that the people of Afghanistan have the courage and the determination to overcome them. Continued international engagement and support is also crucial, and the European Union will remain committed to a secure, stable, free, prosperous and democratic Afghanistan.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kataoka (Japan): Mr. President, at the outset let me join previous speakers in offering sincere and heartfelt condolences to the Russian people and, in particular, to the families of the victims of the tragic accidents which occurred yesterday.

With the approach of the presidential election in October and the parliamentary elections next year, the Bonn process is reaching its final stage. The rebirth of Afghanistan as a democratic State is at stake in those elections. I would therefore like to welcome the President's initiative to organize this meeting in order to provide the Security Council and the United Nations membership as a whole with an opportunity to reconfirm their commitment to Afghanistan at this very critical moment in the process.

I should like to comment on three points which I consider important for the success of the process. The first relates to the elections. The registration of more than 10 million voters — 41.4 per cent of whom are women — clearly demonstrates the strong determination of the Afghan people to create a new

nation through the democratic process. We certainly welcome that sign of progress.

We also appreciate the fact that many presidential candidates in appointing their vice-presidential candidates, are giving due weight to achieving ethnic balance with an eye to promoting ethnic reconciliation. We pay tribute to the Joint Electoral Management Body and all others concerned for their efforts to date to prepare for those elections. We are delighted at the signing of memorandums of understanding with Pakistan and Iran with regard to out-of-country registration and voting, and we request the further cooperation of these countries for the successful conduct of voting in their respective territories. In order to facilitate the successful holding of elections, Japan, for its part, will continue its support and assistance.

Secondly, it goes without saying that free and fair elections require that the security of voters be guaranteed. In that connection, we are much concerned over the security situation in Afghanistan, which has deteriorated since last year as a result of the subversive activities of residual Taliban and Al Qaeda elements, clashes between warlords and the narcotics trade. Now, the security of aid workers and people engaged in electoral preparations is gravely threatened. The unstable security conditions in the south and south-east in fact cause delays in the voter registration process, which demonstrates the continued determination of extremist groups to impede the electoral process.

Japan strongly condemns the activities of such groups, but at the same time is much encouraged but the decision of NATO to send additional troops to Afghanistan. We look forward to the improvement of the security situation with the rapid deployment of those forces.

Thirdly, with respect to the DDR process, despite the efforts of the Afghan Government and the assistance of the international community, the number of soldiers who have entered the DDR programme so far remains at only 20 per cent of the total target for the programme, a situation which is far from satisfactory. Modification of that target number and of the timetable for DDR is currently under consideration, based on the decision to organize the presidential and parliamentary elections separately and on experience with the programme up to this point.

Japan, as the leading country in the DDR process, together with the United Nations, continues to make efforts to support direct negotiations between leaders of the transitional Government and regional commanders, implement the commander-incentive programmes and promote the reintegration programmes so that momentum for DDR can be maintained even after the presidential election.

All parties concerned must realize that they will never be permitted to achieve their objectives by force. They must abide by law and due process. In that regard, we welcome the decision taken in July by President Karzai to declare the following to be illegal: rearmament after DDR; the remobilization of discharged soldiers; maintaining armed militias; and the possession of heavy weapons outside the framework of the Ministry of Defence and the new National Army.

It is also essential that the international community continue to be united in its determination not to create a power vacuum after DDR. To that end, it must accelerate the formation of the National Army and police force and the deployment of the international forces.

For the United Nations and for the international community as a whole Afghanistan is a major touchstone to demonstrate what we can do for countries in need of assistance in the nation-building process in the aftermath of conflict. The Bonn process is still fragile and the security situation remains precarious, but with the support of the international community and, above all, the strong determination of the Afghan people, we have now reached the stage of organizing presidential elections. We remain strongly committed to the national reconstruction of Afghanistan and are confident that the upcoming elections will serve as a first step towards an enduring and positive cooperative relationship between Afghanistan and the rest of the international community.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of Canada. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Rock (Canada): To begin with, Mr. President, Canada wishes to add its voice to those of the many colleagues who have expressed sincere sympathy, particularly to the families and friends of

those who perished in the tragedy that befell Russia and its people yesterday.

(*spoke in French*)

Canada is grateful for the opportunity to address the Council on this important issue. We would like to thank Mr. Arnault for providing us with such a candid snapshot of the situation on the ground. The United Nations presence in Kabul provides an invaluable coordinating mechanism and a meaningful contribution to Afghanistan's rehabilitation, including through institution-building.

We agree with the conclusion of the report of the Secretary General on the situation in Afghanistan: in order for the "peace process to move forward, extremism, factionalism and the illicit drug trade must be addressed resolutely" (*S/2004/634, summary*). The report highlights the fact that we are at a crucial stage in the pursuit of the goals agreed to in Bonn: national reconciliation, lasting peace, stability and respect for human rights.

(*spoke in English*)

For our part, Canada's commitment remains steadfast. We have been with Afghanistan since the beginning on the path to security and prosperity. In fact, for the past six months, the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) has been under the capable command of Canadian General Hillier, which was so generously acknowledged by my colleague from Afghanistan. We have maintained 2,000 troops in Afghanistan until recently with the transfer of the ISAF command. Following the drawdown of our current troop contribution, Canada will sustain the presence of approximately 700 troops in ISAF. But of course, our engagement goes beyond military deployments and involves complementary commitments in the areas of diplomacy and development.

We know that, in order to bring about sustainable change, more must be done. For that reason, Canada has committed an additional $250 million in development assistance to Afghanistan for the period through 2009, bringing our total commitment to more than $600 million since 2001.

Indeed, Afghanistan, with the help of the international community, has made giant strides: a new constitution, strengthening institutions, massive voter registration, continuing verification of political rights and steady progress in disarmament and heavy weapons cantonment.

However, the gains that have been made are not yet irreversible. Without security and credible, accountable governance institutions in Afghanistan — without a growing private sector and national income — the goal of becoming a democratic and self-sustaining State will remain elusive.

Our efforts are being threatened by the mutually reinforcing threats posed by warlords, resurgent Taliban and their supporters, and narcotics. That is a volatile mix. Both supported and insulated by lucrative customs revenues and the profits from the narcotics trade, many warlords are capable of autonomous action and are often impervious to standard incentives in the context of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR). It is clear that these circumstances represent the single greatest obstacle to stability and progress in Afghanistan and that, if allowed to continue, they threaten to undo the progress made over nearly three years. That has happened before and it can happen again.

The Afghan authorities and the international community must make it clear that this behaviour is unacceptable. We must deny support and legitimacy to those who choose to pursue their own parochial interests ahead of the interests of Afghanistan. We must also be prepared to support sanctions against those who remain non-compliant with national priority reforms, such as DDR and heavy-weapons cantonment. That, of course, will require resolute action to renew the authority of Government institutions in the eyes of the populace, as well as to disarm and decommission those militias that have been pursuing political ends by shows of force. The international community must now consider how best to continue to support Afghanistan in this effort in the coming months.

In the immediate term, our paramount goal is to ensure that the presidential and subsequent parliamentary elections go smoothly: as freely and as fairly as possible. The upcoming elections mark a milestone on the road to establishing a broad-based, gender-sensitive, multi-ethnic and fully representative Government. As the report of the Secretary-General confirms, while voter registration figures are positive, additional attention must be devoted to under-represented regions, including certain areas to the south, as well as to out-of-country voters.

We strongly support the verification of political rights now under way by the joint effort of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) and the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission. We — neighbours and partners of Afghanistan alike — must also all rededicate ourselves to prevent any and all acts of violence aimed at disrupting the electoral process in Afghanistan: all such acts run dramatically contrary to the aspirations of the Afghan people themselves, which have now been clearly expressed.

Elections are the final phase contemplated by the Bonn Agreement. After the elections it will be incumbent on the Government of Afghanistan and on the international community to develop a forward-looking plan that extends the vision of Bonn: setting new benchmarks, key to democratic development. But without security, particularly outside Kabul, the prospects for successful elections and overall stabilization remain seriously endangered.

It is time to intensify our focus on key areas of concern to ensure that they do not put our overall engagement in jeopardy. Those key areas include warlords, militias, narcotics and insurgents. With continuing support from the international community, Afghanistan's new Government, army, police and security institutions are showing that they are equal to these tasks. But there is still a long way to go. The international community can reinforce their effectiveness by ensuring that the development agenda and the security sector reform agenda in Afghanistan move forward hand in hand. Enduring success will require a professional and reformist Government backed by sustained commitments to shared development objectives. Canada will continue, working in cooperation with Afghan and international partners, particularly the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, to develop creative and credible solutions.

We are particularly grateful to be able to participate today in this helpful discussion on the way forward.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): I thank the representative of Canada for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Iceland, whom I invite to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Hannesson (Iceland): I would like at the outset to join other colleagues who have expressed their condolences to you, your Government and the Russian people over the tragic loss of life in the two aeroplane tragedies yesterday.

Iceland, as a member of the European Economic Area, fully aligns itself with the statement made by my colleague Ambassador van den Berg on behalf of the European Union a few minutes ago. Let me, however, emphasize briefly a few points.

First of all, we would like to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his frank and informative report (S/2004/634) on the situation in Afghanistan and to the Special Representative for his briefing this morning. It is clear from the report that the situation gives cause for considerable concern. A central concern is the security situation, both short-term and long-term.

In the short term it is essential that the provincial reconstruction teams be reinforced and that a secure environment be established in which peace-building can progress. I would like, on behalf of my Government, to take this opportunity to deplore the increasingly frequent attacks on United Nations and non-governmental organization (NGO) staff in recent weeks, and to express regret — though at the same time understanding — at the withdrawal of Medecins sans frontières, one of the most courageous of the NGOs, with more than 20 years of experience in the country.

Iceland is committed to making its contribution to establishing peace in Afghanistan. Icelandic Foreign Minister Halldór Asgrimsson travelled to Kabul this June to be present at the handover of the management of Kabul airport on 1 June to an Icelandic team. The operating of the airport is key to the successful operation of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), commanded by NATO, and Iceland is strongly committed to that project. I am proud to say that the airport is being run successfully on a 24/7 basis, although I should say that this is despite a far from fully manned team.

The long-term human security environment is crucially effected not only by the activities of extremist elements, such as the Taliban and Al Qaeda, but also by the flourishing of criminality, funded principally by the narcotics trade. That illicit trade has three aspects: production capacity, trade routes and users. We must

address all aspects if we are to defeat this corrosive threat to the long-term stability of the country. Production capacity can be effectively reduced in the long term only through providing farmers with viable alternatives. Part of the equation which has the potential to make drug production less economically attractive is the fluidity of trade routes. Putting the screws on the trade routes would surely help. And of course the demand end of this dirty business needs to be addressed more effectively.

Another crucial factor in establishing long-term security is successful disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR). It is my impression that the most difficult of the three related processes, that is reintegration, is also in some ways the most important. Soldiers who hand in guns must be given constructive and meaningful roles in society, or the danger is that they will simply acquire new guns, of which there is a plentiful supply.

The Secretary-General's report makes it clear that there are no easy answers. However, there are brighter aspects, as we have heard this morning from Mr. Jean Arnault. We would like to commend all those who have worked so hard on voter registration. The successful registration of more than 10 million voters, 41 per cent of them women, is truly remarkable.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of Uzbekistan, whom I invite to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Vohidov (Uzbekistan) (*spoke in Russian*): Mr. President, may I extend to you and, through you, to the Government of Russia and to the Russian people our sincerest condolences in connection with the deaths caused by yesterday's tragic air crashes in Russia.

Turning to the items on today's agenda, I would like to express gratitude to you once again, Sir, for bringing this item up for discussion in the Security Council and for enabling us to speak here. I would like, first of all, to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Jean Arnault, for his thorough briefing on the current situation in Afghanistan.

We welcome the progress achieved in implementing the outcomes of the Berlin conference with respect to achieving effective State administration, establishing such components as an army, law enforcement agencies and a justice system, furthering social and economic development, and continuing the implementation of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programme.

The positive processes currently under way in Afghanistan not only make it possible for the peaceful rehabilitation of the country, but also open up prospects for its participation, inter alia, in integration processes in Central Asia. However, although there have been initial successes in rebuilding the State of Afghanistan, the difficulties that have arisen in organizing general elections are a cause for concern. These relate to the worsening security situation, increasing narcotics production, and the slow implementation of agreements entered into by the Afghan Government and the international community within the framework of the Berlin conference, relating to political, social and economic reform and the provision of financial and other types of assistance.

We believe it is important to point out that the conclusions in the report of the Secretary-General (S/2004/634) pertaining to ensuring security and stability in the country are in consonance with the consistent position of Uzbekistan that the international community's main efforts should be directed at continuing to combat terrorism, extremism and the illegal drug trade, and at enhancing the authority and capabilities of the central Government of Afghanistan. In that connection, we have no doubt that the United Nations must play a coordinating role.

Allow me to refer to the following elements of Uzbekistan's vision for continuing the peace process in Afghanistan.

The first element involves efforts to disarm military-political factions. We must speed up the process for relinquishing arms and expand activities for the reintegration of demobilized soldiers and officers into the national economy. We must create a regulated and well-provisioned law enforcement agency and, above all, a unified national army subject to the central authority.

The second element is the subordination of political authority in the regions of Afghanistan to the central Government. We cannot fail to express concern at the worsening security situation in regions that previously were relatively calm.

The third element is to strengthen the international community's campaign to eliminate

terrorism, extremism and illegal drug trafficking. We express our concern at the increasing number of raids carried out by subversive forces and bandit terrorist elements within the country with the aim of preventing the stabilization of Afghanistan and the holding of general elections. We see internal and external forces at work in those activities. In that context, we believe it is important to draw the Security Council's most serious attention to the threats posed by radical and extremist religious organizations such as Hizb ut-Tahrir and urge the Council to impose the most robust sanctions against terrorist organizations.

The fourth element is consistent implementation of the decisions of the Tokyo and the Berlin conferences, including the pledges for financial assistance to Afghanistan.

Fifthly, neighbouring and other States should refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

We are seriously concerned at the record harvest and processing of opium poppies in Afghanistan. In order to prevent a scenario in which drugs ultimately undermine the country's economy, we need to speed up implementation of far-reaching structural reforms of the Afghan economy, thus ensuring employment for its people, above all, for its volunteer army. In addition, given that drug trafficking needs to be countered in the Central Asian region, we are counting on increased support from the international community to establish a Central Asian regional information coordination centre to combat trans-border crime linked to illegal drug trafficking.

Normalizing the situation in Afghanistan, including in the social and economic areas, will ensure not only the security and well-being of Afghanistan but also regional and international stability. In that context, Uzbekistan considers Afghanistan to be an integral part of the Central Asian space and encourages its participation in processes for regional integration.

I would like to draw attention to the importance of using the resources of neighbouring countries to effectively support the reconstruction of Afghanistan's economic infrastructure. Uzbekistan is assisting the Afghan people in rebuilding and restoring communication infrastructure, roads, bridges and railroads and electricity infrastructure in order to create more favourable conditions for the transit of deliveries sent to Afghanistan. The Government of the Republic of Uzbekistan, together with the relevant United Nations agencies, has established a mechanism to coordinate the flow of deliveries from international organizations and donor countries. More than 2.5 million tons of goods have been delivered to Afghanistan by way of the Termez-Jeyretan bridge. Uzbekistan has taken measures to lower the cost of transporting goods and improve its infrastructure.

We are still far from restoring complete peace and stability in Afghanistan. However, we have every reason to believe that after what we have gone through together, the international community cannot allow the positive process for the peaceful rebuilding of Afghanistan to be turned back. I am certain that the conclusions of the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Afghanistan will be taken into account by the international community and will serve to enhance the effectiveness of efforts to rebuild Afghanistan under the coordination of the United Nations.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): In my national capacity, I would like to thank once again all those who have spoken for their expression of sympathy.

I now resume my function as President and give the floor to Mr. Jean Arnault in order to respond to comments and questions.

Mr. Arnault: I would most like, perhaps, to clarify the situation with respect to the troop strength of the Afghan military forces. As has happened in many post-conflict situations, the issue of the strength of military forces is always — or most of the time — the subject of much debate. Afghanistan was no exception.

Last year, the figure initially provided by the Ministry of Defence for the total number of troops under the Ministry of Defence was approximately 700,000. After some discussion and absent any credible, verified statistics, agreement was reached in November on the working assumption of approximately 100,000 soldiers and officers for the purpose of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) process. Since then — and that is since October of last year — as the United Nations and other organizations got involved in the DDR process in quite some detail, it appeared very clearly that in fact the troop strength of the nine corps had been vastly overstated. In several cases, when 2,000, 3,000 or 4,000 soldiers were supposed to belong to a corps, it

would turn out that a maximum of 200, 300 or 400 were actually employed. That is why it is now a working assumption of the DDR process that we are talking about no more than 40,000 to 50,000 actual troops under the umbrella of the Ministry of Defence. That figure might change somewhat, but we feel fairly confident that as the DDR process progresses, we will find out in fact that the numbers are smaller rather than larger.

Allow me to reassure the Ambassador of Pakistan and the members of the Council that there is no room for political bias at the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA). As a matter of fact, with regard to the overall analysis of the situation, to a very large extent we share the analysis presented by the Ambassador of Pakistan, in particular his analysis with regard to the role of factionalism in the situation of insecurity. Not only do we share that analysis, but as the Council may know, much of our mandate is directed at the need to control and contain factionalism through the DDR process, the verification of human rights and political rights and, most of all, of course, through the organization of a free and fair election in Afghanistan, the ultimate purpose of which is to create a post-war order based on popular will, not on the precarious balance of military forces that was established in the wake of the collapse of the Taliban regime.

However, our contention is that today, Taliban activities are directly undermining the expression of popular will and, paradoxically, they are doing so precisely in the communities they claim to support and which we want to empower. We do not dispute in any way that the Taliban has assets and resources in the country itself, even though the outcome of the registration process and the interest and the passion for registration shown by communities in the south, south-east and east demonstrate in fact how isolated those extremist forces currently are.

Among the tools that the extremist forces have at their disposal are cross-border operations and infiltration, which have been used to attack the peace process and, more specifically, to attack the electoral process. As UNAMA, we would be irresponsible if we did not appeal to the international community, to the Government of Pakistan and to the Government of Afghanistan and its national forces to put an end to that situation, particularly on the southern border. With the support of the Security Council, we will continue to do so.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): I thank Mr. Arnault for those clarifications.

Do any other delegations wish to make comments?

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): I would like to thank Mr. Arnault for his concluding remarks, which, in our view, put in balance the situation that exists in Afghanistan today. We agree that there is an effort on the part of the extremists to disrupt the elections; obviously, there are various reasons for that. There is no question that the extremists do not as yet enjoy popular support in Afghanistan, including in the south or the south-east of the country.

However, we would like to make one point. In our view, it is not primarily cross-border infiltration that is resulting in the extremist violence in Afghanistan, including in the south and the south-east. If one were to review the location of the 30 or 35 incidents directed against election workers over the past two months or so, I think one would be able to pinpoint that, apart from four, five or six incidents, most of them have taken place well inside Afghan territory, at least 100 miles from the border with Pakistan. The five or six incidents in the border regions — at least those reported — have been in places such as Nangarhar and Zabul, close to Pakistan's borders.

When you request or seek cooperation from Pakistan to enhance its actions to stop infiltration, two questions arise.

First, I believe that what we are doing is extraordinary. The effort we have deployed, with the political costs that Pakistan has incurred by marching its troops into territories where even our British friends did not venture for 150 years, is, I think, remarkable. We have gone in and dealt with the tribes; we have gone in with peace, with construction, with schools and hospitals, in order to win those tribes over to our way of thinking. But we have encountered resistance, as members are aware, and our operations are under way; many of our soldiers have died. The question is, what more does the United Nations expect us to do? When that call is made upon us, what more is expected from Pakistan in this context that we are not already doing? That is the question.

We feel very strongly that we are doing everything we can. We have taken many political risks and have suffered many military casualties, and to call upon Pakistan to do even more is unfair. We can become more effective in our actions, but that requires a building up of our technical and other capacities. I believe that our friends at the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan and our allies are well aware of what those requirements are. We have not received those requirements, despite repeated requests. That adds to our sense of frustration when we are asked to do more.

Secondly, cross-border action is not only the responsibility of Pakistan; even more, it is the responsibility of Afghanistan and of the international forces that are in Afghanistan. Pakistan has deployed 75,000 troops on the border. We would like to know what the number on the other side is. Is it larger? Have the actions taken on the other side of the border been more extensive than those enumerated with regard to what Pakistan has done on our side of the border? Are they more of a commitment? The International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) has agreed to enhance its forces by a few thousand. Is that the response that is required from the international community? And, if the international community asks us to do more, should it not do more itself? If the United Nations asks us to do more, should it not ask ISAF at least to match our efforts on the other side of the border?

Those are real and practical issues. Therefore, I must say that my Government is very sensitive to any assertion that we could do more than we are doing without the help of the international community.

The President (*spoke in Russian*): There are no further speakers.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5026

Security Council

Fifty-ninth year

Provisional

5026th meeting

Wednesday, 1 September 2004, 8.20 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo	(Spain)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Benmehidi
	Angola	Mr. Lucas
	Benin	Ms. Elisha
	Brazil	Mr. Tarrisse da Fontoura
	Chile	Mr. Bustos
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	France	Mr. Duclos
	Germany	Mr. Wolter
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Philippines	Mr. Mercado
	Romania	Mr. Dumitru
	Russian Federation	Mr. Denisov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Thomson
	United States of America	Mrs. Patterson

Agenda

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

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04-47532 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 8.20 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

The President *(spoke in Spanish)*: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of September, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Andrey I. Denisov, Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of August 2004. I am sure I speak for all members of the Council in expressing our deep appreciation to Ambassador Denisov for the great diplomatic skill with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

> "The Security Council condemns in the strongest terms the heinous terrorist act involving the taking of hostages at a secondary school in the town of Beslan, the Russian Federation, on 1 September 2004, as well as other terrorist attacks committed recently against innocent civilians in Moscow and on two Russian airliners, in which many lives were claimed and people injured.
>
> "The Security Council demands the immediate and unconditional release of all hostages of the terrorist attack.
>
> "The Security Council expresses the deepest sympathy and condolences to the people and the Government of the Russian Federation and to the victims of the terrorist acts and their families.
>
> "The Security Council urges all States, in accordance with their obligations under resolution 1373 (2001), to cooperate actively with the Russian authorities in their efforts to find and bring to justice the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of these terrorist acts.
>
> "The Security Council reaffirms that terrorism in all its forms and manifestations constitutes one of the most serious threats to international peace and security and that any acts of terrorism are criminal and unjustifiable, regardless of their motivation, whenever and by whomsoever committed.
>
> "The Security Council expresses its determination to combat all forms of terrorism, in accordance with its responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2004/31.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 8.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5027

Security Council

Fifty-ninth year

Provisional

5027th meeting

Thursday, 2 September 2004, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo	(Spain)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Benin	Mr. Adechi
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	Chile	Mr. Andereya
	China	Mr. Wang Guangya
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Trautwein
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Philippines	Mr. Baja
	Romania	Mr. Dumitru
	Russian Federation	Mr. Denisov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Thomson
	United States of America	Mr. Danforth

Agenda

Report of the Secretary-General on the Sudan

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraphs 6 and 13 to 16 of Security Council resolution 1556 (2004) (S/2004/703)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

04-47596 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.35 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Report of the Secretary-General on the Sudan

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraphs 6 and 13 to 16 of Security Council resolution 1556 (2004) (S/2004/703)

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Jan Pronk, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Sudan and head of the peace support operation.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Pronk to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraphs 6 and 13 to 16 of Security Council resolution 1556 (2004), document S/2004/703. I should like to draw the attention of members to the following documents: S/2004/671 and S/2004/701, containing the texts of letters dated 19 and 31 August 2004, respectively, from the Sudan; and S/2004/674, containing the text of a letter dated 18 August 2004 from the Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Jan Pronk, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Sudan and head of the peace support operation. I now give him the floor.

Mr. Pronk: As you just indicated, Mr. President, the report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraphs 6 and 13 to 16 of Security Council resolution 1556 (2004) (S/2004/703) has been made available to members of the Security Council. For that reason, I will confine myself to making a brief oral statement rather than presenting a full survey. I would like to highlight 10 important points on the basis of the report.

My first point concerns the process. After the adoption of Security Council resolution 1556 (2004), the Government of Sudan, in a meeting with the United Nations and partners, declared that it would meet the requirements contained in that resolution. We made clear that the resolution should be interpreted not as an attack on Sudan and its leaders but, on the contrary, as a means of protecting Sudanese citizens who are suffering atrocities. We also made clear that we were willing to assist the authorities in Sudan in meeting the requirements of the resolution.

Within the framework of the Joint Implementation Mechanism, the United Nations and partners — including the ambassadors of many countries represented in Khartoum — have been engaged in intensive discussions with the Government of Sudan and in a number of assessment missions. In all those discussions, the United Nations and partners aimed at achieving consensus among themselves, so as to avoid misinterpretation and in order to maintain political pressure.

Through that mechanism we were able to maintain pressure on the Government and to offer it help in meeting the initial requirement: to show substantial, irreversible and verifiable progress within 30 days and, in the months thereafter, progress towards full security in Darfur. This has resulted in an approach in stages: first, the formulation of detailed policies by the Government in order to meet that objective; secondly, ensuring that those policies will indeed be carried out by all authorities, including those in Darfur itself; and thirdly, guaranteeing the actual impact on the ground: substantially improved security for the population, and for displaced persons in particular.

My second point is that the Government of the Sudan has made progress towards meeting the requirements of the resolution. They have been able to improve security in some specific areas of concentration of internally displaced persons (IDPs); to cease all offensive military operations in those areas, including any offensive actions against rebel groups, to exercise restraint and avoid retaliation, and to redeploy the armed forces in such a way that they are not in direct contact with IDPs or other civilians — here, in mid-August the African Union Ceasefire Commission informed me that there was no evidence of attacks

having been carried out by Government aeroplanes since the signature of the joint communiqué; to deploy additional police; to begin disarming a sizeable part of the Popular Defence Forces; to lift all access restrictions for humanitarian relief; to announce a policy of voluntary returns only; to refrain from exercising a sovereign right to decide whether return of IDPs is voluntary and appropriate and hand over that right to an authoritative international body; to accept international human rights monitoring and establish national mechanisms to investigate abuses; to mobilize local and traditional leaders to address the conflict in Darfur and enact legislation to strengthen native administration; and, last but not least, to engage in negotiations with rebel movements without preconditions.

It is self-evident that, with regard to the practical implementation of those steps, there are always going to be some time lags and hiccups. But it has always been possible for the United Nations and partners to discuss and resolve the questions concerned with the Government. In my capacity as Special Representative of the Secretary-General, I have commended the Government for that progress in this short period of the initial 30 days.

I turn to the third point. In two key — and I underscore the word "key" — areas, however, the Government has not met its commitments. First, it has not been able to stop attacks by militias against civilians or to disarm those militias. Disarming part of the Popular Defence Forces is a laudable step, but it is not the same as disarming all militias, including the Janjaweed, which are under the influence of the Government. Secondly, no concrete steps have been taken to bring to justice or even identify any of the militia leaders or the perpetrators of these attacks, allowing violations of human rights to continue in a climate of impunity. Although some individual offenders have indeed been arrested, an active and systematic strategy to end impunity and to bring to justice Janjaweed leaders and their associates does not yet seem to be in place.

My fourth point relates to consequences. All of this means that, despite the progress that I have indicated, there is still much insecurity. The number of people fleeing their homes and villages is still increasing. Having said that, it is also important to note that, in the areas that have been chosen by the Government as areas to be made secure and safe within 30 days, the situation has improved. Security in those areas is better than it was one or two months ago. It is also better than the situation outside those areas. It goes without saying that the areas to be made safe and secure should be extended drastically and should ultimately cover the whole area of Darfur under the control of the Government. From the outset, that was the understanding shared by both the United Nations and partners and by the Government. It was also understood that any improvement in the initial areas should not be accompanied by a deterioration of conditions elsewhere. There can be no tradeoff in security conditions. On the contrary, the measures taken in the initial areas should serve as a model for Darfur as a whole.

Turning to my fifth point, a key concern is the critical breakdown of confidence among IDPs vis-à-vis the authorities. That distrust amongst the displaced rests upon their perception that the Government is behind the terror and the trauma they have experienced. Whether that is true or not, the breakdown of confidence is a fact. It is self-evident that rebuilding this shattered confidence cannot be done by the Government alone. More relief, refraining from direct and indirect pressure on IDPs to return, better management of the camps, conflict mediation, reconciliation and much wisdom are required in order to defuse potentially explosive situations.

The sixth point follows directly from that. It is the responsibility of the Government to protect its people against attacks and violations of human rights. This is the essential message of resolution 1556 (2004); this is the message that we have consistently emphasized in all discussions: any Government, including the Government of the Sudan, has the obligation to do its utmost to protect its citizens. It is incumbent upon the Government to ensure that no attacks on civilians occur, whether the perpetrators are under its influence or not. That message could be followed by another message: we urge the Government, if it is unable to fully protect its citizens by itself, to seek, request and accept assistance from the international community.

The seventh point is that such assistance can take various forms. A minimum package would be to drastically increase the capacity to monitor security and to maximize its effectiveness. That would mean, first, broadening the monitoring mandate in order to cover the implementation of all agreements, not only

those between the Government and the rebels — the Ceasefire — but also those between the Government and the United Nations and its partners. Secondly, after broadening the mandate, that would mean interpreting the concept of monitoring activity more broadly. Monitoring must be more than investigating incidents that have happened. Proactive monitoring will help to prevent such incidents from taking place by being on the spot 24 hours a day wherever such incidents might occur, including in the camps, and by acting as mediator in order to help prevent the escalation of conflict and insecurity. The third element of that minimum package would be many more monitors — eyes, hands, feet, wheels, planes and brains to monitor the situation on the ground.

As indicated in the report of the Secretary General, an expanded African Union mission in Darfur provides a path towards that end that is independent from the parties, widespread, neutral, efficient and reliably backed by logistics and resources supplied by the international community.

Point eight concerns the negotiations. There can be no end to the suffering in Darfur without a political settlement that leads towards sustainable peace. The search for a political solution is now under way in Abuja, Nigeria. The root causes of the conflict should be addressed. I welcome the fact that the parties have been able to agree on an agenda that includes both emergency and long-term concerns: humanitarian, security and political issues as well as social and economic questions such as equal access to land, water and natural resources and the eradication of poverty and the fostering of sustainable development in secure livelihoods.

I urge the parties to stay at the negotiating table, even when they feel frustrated or provoked. I also urge them to continue and redouble their efforts and to seek assistance from the African Union and United Nations facilitators and mediators. A political settlement should enable the refugees and displaced persons to return. It is also in their interest that security issues should have a prominent place on the agenda. While the talks are going on, both parties have to exercise maximum restraint on the ground and fully respect the Humanitarian Ceasefire Agreement. That applies equally to the Government of Sudan and to the rebel movements. International pressure should be applied across a level playing field.

Point nine also pertains to negotiations. The crisis in Darfur cannot be seen in isolation from the search for a comprehensive solution in Sudan. A comprehensive solution requires peace between the Government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement. That means that the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) peace talks in Naivasha should be resumed quickly and brought to a successful conclusion. A sustainable conclusion of the talks on Darfur requires a settlement between Khartoum and Rumbek, not the other way round. Those talks should at least take place concurrently.

Sudan has a history of talks forestalled and promises not kept. Completion of the Naivasha talks would prove that it makes sense to negotiate and that peace negotiations can indeed produce results. Moreover, the outcome of the talks in Naivasha could serve as a model for the talks on Darfur. By that I mean decentralization, a fair degree of autonomy for the regions, power sharing, equality and the co-existence of different tribes and populations within one nation. Constitutional changes resulting from Naivasha could instil confidence among the rebels in the process and provide a feasible political framework for the Government as well. Last but not least, peace between the North and the South would, according to the protocols so far agreed, result in a governmental system in Khartoum that would also be comprised of representatives from the South. That would also enhance mutual trust among the parties at the negotiating table for Darfur.

Any effort to make the conclusion of the IGAD process conditional on an end to the crisis in Darfur would therefore be counter-productive, with consequences that could further destabilize the country and the region and ultimately prolong the crisis in Darfur itself.

I now come to the final point. The humanitarian situation in Darfur is still bleak. There are major gaps in the provision of food, water and sanitation. Many displaced persons are still beyond reach. There are no outbreaks of epidemics, but malnutrition and mortality are still too high. Some improvement is discernible due to the tireless efforts of many people, most of them very young, coming from many different countries in order to provide relief to the victims of this man-made crisis. Humanitarian agencies and non-governmental organizations have done, and continue to do, a tremendous job.

However, we need much more assistance — more resources and people. The financial commitments made thus far do not meet the urgent needs for 2004. We need at least an additional $250 million through the end of this year. The original estimates of what was thought to be necessary have never been covered by an adequate amount of financial assistance. Moreover, those estimates have turned out to be too modest, as there are more refugees and displaced persons than expected. And that is in addition to the other financial resources required to build the more robust monitoring capacity I have referred to.

Since about two months ago, humanitarian agencies have had free access to Darfur. Apart from logistical bottlenecks, nothing stands in the way of an adequate relief operation. That opportunity should be grasped. Resources have to be at least redoubled. There is much talk about Darfur outside Sudan — and rightly so, because the misery is great. Many missions are visiting Sudan. Again rightly so, because pressure should be kept up. But, as a visiting minister has said, "put your money where your mouth is". We do indeed need a lot of attention, a lot of talking, a lot of pressure and a lot of resources.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Mr. Pronk for the comprehensive briefing he has given us.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I now invite Council members to proceed to informal consultations to continue our discussion of the subject.

The meeting rose at 11 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.5028

Security Council

Fifty-ninth year

Provisional

5028th meeting

Thursday, 2 September 2004, 7.40 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo	(Spain)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Benin	Mr. Adechi
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	Chile	Mr. Maquieira
	China	Mr. Wang Guangya
	France	Mr. De la Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Trautwein
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Philippines	Mr. Baja
	Romania	Mr. Dumitru
	Russian Federation	Mr. Denisov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Thomson
	United States of America	Mr. Danforth

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East

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04-49874 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 7.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Lebanon, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to His Excellency Mr. Mohamad Issa, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigrants of Lebanon and Vice-President of the Lebanese delegation to the General Assembly.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Issa (Lebanon) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2004/707, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by France, Germany, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America. I should also like to draw the attention of members to document S/2004/699, containing the text of identical letters dated 30 August 2004 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and to the President of the Security Council, and to document S/2004/706, containing the text of identical letters dated 1 September 2004 from the Permanent Representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and to the President of the Security Council.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Mohamad Issa, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigrants of Lebanon and Vice-President of the Lebanese delegation to the General Assembly.

Mr. Issa (Lebanon) (*spoke in Arabic*): I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and to commend your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation, for his efforts last month.

Today the Council is considering a draft resolution introduced by the United States of America and France and supported by other States, including Germany and the United Kingdom — all of which are countries friendly to Lebanon. We recall that two previous resolutions on Lebanon, resolution 425 (1978) of 19 March 1978 and resolution 520 (1982) of 17 September 1982, were adopted by the Council, in the first instance because of Israel's aggression and occupation of southern Lebanese territory and the western Bekaa, and in the second instance when Israeli forces invaded Lebanese territory and occupied part of Beirut. Resolution 425 (1978) called for the withdrawal of all Israeli forces from all the Lebanese territories they had occupied; resolution 520 (1982) emphasized the determination of Lebanon to ensure the withdrawal of all non-Lebanese forces from Lebanon following the invasion of Lebanese territories and incursions into Beirut by Israeli troops.

Although we appreciate the interest shown by the United States, France, the United Kingdom and Germany — all of which are friendly countries, as I said — and their emphasis on Lebanon's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence, we must recall that it is the Lebanese people who have a stake in those matters. The country that attacks Lebanon, continues to occupy parts of its territory and threatens its political independence with continued air, land and sea aggression — Israel — was forced to leave the western Bekaa and the south by the Lebanese national resistance but continues to occupy parts of Lebanon.

In that regard, there are no militias in Lebanon. The Lebanese national resistance appeared following the Israeli occupation of Lebanese territory and will remain as long as the Israelis occupy parts of Lebanon, because we look forward to putting an end to the Israeli occupation. The resistance forces exist alongside the Lebanese national forces; our military authorities determine their presence and their size according to our

needs. The authority of the Lebanese State extends over all of Lebanese territory except the Israeli-occupied areas, which we are resolved to liberate by peaceful means, if possible.

The draft resolution submitted to the Council for its consideration today confuses two matters. The first is the unique relations between Lebanon and Syria, which achieve their common interests, particularly Lebanon's interests. Friendly Syria has helped Lebanon to maintain security and stability within its borders. It has fended off the radicalism and violence that are fed by Israel's extremism and violence against the Palestinians, which threaten their security and stability. At the same time, Israel has also threatened Lebanon's security and stability by violating its land borders, territorial waters and airspace. All those violations have been reported by Lebanon and by the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon to the relevant United Nations organs. The second matter is purely internal, and relates to the presidential electoral process now under way in Lebanon because the mandate of its President will come to an end on 23 November 2004.

Syrian troops came to Lebanon in response to our legitimate request. Their presence is guided by the Taif Agreement, which had the support of the Security Council, as well as by agreements concluded between the two sovereign States. Those troops have been redeployed many times, and their presence is invisible. They contribute to rebuffing Israel's radical and excessive actions, which continue to include totally unjustifiable and excessive acts of violence. Those reactions in turn generate Palestinian violence, pushing the region into a dangerous and unpredictable whirlwind. To say that Syria supports radical movements in Lebanon in therefore untrue. To the contrary, as we have said, it supports a national resistance movement seeking to liberate the territories occupied by Israel.

The draft resolution under discussion today refers to support for free and fair presidential elections in Lebanon. I do not believe that an issue such as this, which is an internal matter for a founding State Member of the United Nations, has ever been discussed in the Security Council with regard to any other Member State, and the Organization has never interfered in such a matter in the case of any other State. Lebanon's parliamentarians have been chosen by free and impartial elections, and, as representatives entrusted with Lebanon's future, its Constitution and its institutions, they have the right to take decisions pertaining to elections and to who is elected and how.

The legitimacy of the United Nations, the Charter and the Council's rules of procedure provide no justification for this draft resolution, which constitutes interference in the internal affairs of a State Member of the Organization. The draft resolution also discusses bilateral relations between two friendly countries, neither of which has filed any complaint with regard to those relations, which are guided by the agreement on coordination and cooperation they have signed. We therefore call for the withdrawal of the draft resolution.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the representative of Lebanon for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/2004/707) before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, Benin, Chile, France, Germany, Romania, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining:

Algeria, Brazil, China, Pakistan, Philippines, Russian Federation.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The result of the voting is as follows: 9 votes in favour, none against and 6 abstentions. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 1559 (2004).

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Danforth (United States of America): The Security Council consistently has affirmed that it supports the full sovereignty and independence of Lebanon, free of all foreign forces. We believe Lebanon should be allowed to determine its own future and assume control of its own territory. Yet the Lebanese people are still unable to exercise their rights

as a free people to make those choices and to take those steps as a nation.

With France, we introduced the draft resolution on Lebanon and Syria; and with the sponsorship of Germany and the United Kingdom, we asked for a vote tonight, because the situation in Lebanon is moving very quickly. The Government of Syria has imposed its political will on Lebanon and has compelled the Cabinet and the Lebanese National Assembly to amend its Constitution and abort the electoral process by extending the term of the current President by three years. The final vote in the Assembly is scheduled for Friday, so it is imperative for the Security Council to address this issue now.

The Lebanese parliament and the Lebanese cabinet should express the will of the Lebanese people through a free and fair presidential electoral process. What the Lebanese people and we have witnessed over the past week in terms of Syrian actions is a crude mockery of this principle. It is clear that Lebanese parliamentarians have been pressured, and even threatened, by Syria and its agents to make them comply. We strongly support the extension of the control of the Government of Lebanon over all Lebanese territory, including southern Lebanon, as called for by the Security Council over the past four years. The continued presence of armed Hizbullah militia elements, as well as the presence of the Syrian military and Iranian forces in Lebanon, hinders that goal.

We believe that this situation — 14 years after the end of Lebanon's civil war and four years after the Security Council accepted unanimously the Secretary-General's report that Israel had complied fully with Security Council resolution 425 (1978) — is simply unacceptable. It is wrong for Syria to continue to maintain its forces in Lebanon, in flat contravention of the spirit and clear intent of the Taif Accord. And it would be very wrong of Syria to continue to interfere in the presidential electoral process in Lebanon. We have called on the Security Council to carry out its responsibility of supporting the full independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon, free after so many years from all foreign forces, and to support the Lebanese people in their ability to make their own national decisions, free at long last from outside coercion and dictate.

Mr. De la Sablière (France) (*spoke in French*): France welcomes the adoption of resolution 1559 (2004), which we co-sponsored.

Lebanon has been through several decades of upheaval. It has been confronted by war. Its internal stability and the stability of the region have been repeatedly and seriously threatened.

After the war, Lebanon began to rebuild, and it is committed to strengthening the rule of law, faithful to its democratic aspirations. After a very troubled period, Lebanon must be able to restore confidence and prosperity. That will come through the full restoration of its sovereignty and the free exercise of democracy.

Since 1978 — and long since it took note of Israel's withdrawal — the Security Council has been calling for respect for the territorial integrity, political independence and sovereignty of Lebanon. It has regularly reaffirmed those objectives. Today, the future of Lebanon is being seriously threatened by Syria's interference in the political life of the country and, in particular, in the electoral process — the reason for the current crisis — as well as by the continued occupation and the persistent presence of armed militias.

France is deeply concerned that Lebanon might retreat from the objectives that are constantly reaffirmed by the international community. That is why the rapid mobilization of and a decisive response by the Security Council seemed essential to us. The withdrawal of foreign forces from the entire territory of Lebanon and the dismantling of Lebanese and non-Lebanese militias should be delayed no longer. The electoral process should proceed without any foreign interference.

These demands, reiterated by the Security Council today, are in keeping with the position that it has regularly adopted for more than 25 years. The Council is not committing an act of interference by denouncing the risk to international peace and security represented by the current crisis. Rather, if it refrained from taking action, the Council would be sanctioning the inadmissible interference by a State in the internal affairs of another sovereign State.

France believes that by responding firmly today the Security Council is showing its confidence in the future of Lebanon. That future must include the full restoration of its sovereignty — not increased external interference.

Mr. Wang Guangya (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): Respect for sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and the principle of non-interference in internal affairs in international relations constitutes the centrepiece of China's foreign policy. It is also a fundamental principle enshrined in the United Nations Charter. Adhering to that principle, China has always been resolute in supporting respect for, and the safeguarding of, the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

The draft resolution co-sponsored by the United States and France touches on questions concerning presidential elections in Lebanon. In our view, those questions fall within the purview of the internal affairs of Lebanon and should be freely decided by the Lebanese people themselves. China is aware that the Permanent Representative of Lebanon clearly stated, in his recent letters to the President of the Security Council and to the Secretary-General, his Government's objection to the consideration of those questions by the Council. China respects the wishes of the Lebanese Government in that regard and hopes that all Council members will do so. On the basis of that position, China abstained in the vote on the draft resolution.

China has been closely following the developments in Lebanon and sincerely hopes that Lebanon will continue to maintain its stability and economic development. That would be in the interests of peace and stability in the Middle East region and would prevent new uncertainties from being introduced into the region.

I would like to take this opportunity to reiterate China's hope that the parties concerned will be able to satisfactorily resolve, through political negotiation, all of their problems, including those of the Palestinian-Israeli, Syrian-Israeli and Lebanese-Israeli tracks, so that a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East can soon be achieved.

Mr. Baali (Algeria) (*spoke in French*): Algeria which is resolutely committed to strict respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and independence of Lebanon, as well as for the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of Lebanon and in its political and economic choices, decided to abstain on the draft resolution presented by the United States and France for a number of reasons.

First, the situation prevailing today in Lebanon does not appear to constitute a threat to international peace and security and is therefore not of a nature to prompt consideration, especially on an urgent basis, by the Security Council — still less a decision on its part.

Secondly, it is Israel that, by its policy of occupation and colonization of Arab lands, including the Lebanese enclave of Shaba'a, the Syrian Golan and the Palestinian territories of the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem, and its policy of aggression against the countries of the region and of brutal repression of the Palestinian people, constitutes an incontrovertible threat to international peace and security — a threat that does require urgent consideration and effective measures by the Security Council to compel Israel to respect the decisions of the Council and to comply with international law.

My delegation would therefore have hoped to see the Security Council display towards Israel the same firmness it is today showing with respect to Lebanon by demanding that Israel withdraw its occupation forces from Arab lands within 30 days. It would undoubtedly gain credibility and would make a decisive contribution to the settlement of a painful problem that has been undermining the Middle East region for decades.

Thirdly, the Security Council must interfere neither in the internal affairs of States nor in bilateral relations between States, especially when these in no way pose a threat to international peace and security, because the Council's primary responsibility under the Charter is solely the maintenance of international peace and security. In that regard, the Council's consideration of an internal Lebanese matter constitutes an unfortunate precedent that must not be repeated, lest the Council be dragged seriously adrift, with consequences that would be detrimental to its credibility and to the Charter in both its letter and its spirit.

Fourthly, as a matter of principle, Algeria cannot associate itself with a draft resolution that includes even implicit threats against fraternal countries — countries, moreover, that respect international law.

Finally, bearing in mind the complex and multidimensional nature of the Middle East problem, Algeria believes that only a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement based on respect for international law, the principle of land for peace and Israel's

withdrawal from all occupied Palestinian and Arab lands can bring about a just and final peace throughout the region.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): Pakistan abstained in the vote on the draft resolution just adopted by the Council, with nine votes in favour, as resolution 1559 (2004). We did so for the following reasons.

First, the resolution is not consistent with the Security Council's functions and responsibilities. Article 39 of the Charter stipulates that the Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and shall thereafter make recommendations for action. In this case, the resolution establishes no evidence of any urgent threat to peace. There has been no complaint from the country whose sovereignty and integrity the resolution purports to uphold. On the contrary, Lebanese representatives communicated to the Council their opposition to consideration of the draft resolution.

Secondly, the resolution addresses the wrong threat. If there is a threat to Lebanon it is well known; it does not arise from Syria. We construe the provisions of paragraph 2, as now worded, as constituting a reference to those foreign forces which have entered Lebanon uninvited and by the use of force.

Thirdly, the resolution goes beyond the mandate and the authority of the Security Council. Article 24, paragraph 2, of the Charter states that Security Council shall act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. A fundamental principle of the United Nations is stated in Article 2, paragraph 7: "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State". This resolution, in its sixth preambular paragraph and in its operative paragraph 5, intervenes in the internal affairs of Lebanon. Such intervention is unacceptable and is contrary to the Charter. It also sets an unfortunate precedent. It is, moreover, unclear, since it will be impossible for the Council to determine whether and when the constitutional rules of any country, in this case Lebanon, are, in the words of those paragraphs, "devised without foreign interference or influence". For that reason, this provision of the resolution is also unimplementable. Indeed, the Security Council will find it impossible to enforce changes in the national constitutions and rules of sovereign States.

We have acted on this resolution under the item on the Middle East. The Security Council must address the real threat to peace in the Middle East arising from the occupation of Palestinian and Arab territories, including territory of the Syrian Arab Republic. We trust that we shall not be deflected or diverted from that objective by the resolution which the Council has adopted today.

Mr. Denisov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Yesterday during the Council's discussion of the draft resolution on the situation in Lebanon proposed by our United States and French colleagues, we said that from our point of view its main purpose was to prevent further escalation of tension in the Middle East. We note that a high level of attention is being devoted to the situation in Lebanon. Any misstep could possibly exacerbate the situation in the region and lead to the emergence of a new pocket of instability in addition to the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the situation in Iraq. There is also a danger of upsetting the fragile political balance in Lebanon itself.

Guided by those thoughts, we submitted for the Council's consideration the amendments with which members are familiar. Their purpose was to situate the draft resolution more in the context of an overall Middle East settlement and to prevent it from being one-sided and from concentrating solely on domestic Lebanese affairs. We believe that Russia's proposals improved the draft resolution submitted by France and the United States by making it more acceptable to all members of the Council.

Unfortunately, our proposals were not adopted. Therefore, we were unable to support the draft resolution.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): Brazil abstained from voting on the draft resolution put before the Security Council this evening. We have been following very closely the events taking place in Lebanon. This interest comes from the friendly historic ties that link us to the Lebanese people. Suffice it to say that there is a large community of people of Lebanese descent in my country. Bilateral relations with Lebanon constitute a high priority for the Government of Brazil.

It is our view that resolution 1559 (2004) deals with matters that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of Lebanon. The existence of a dispute likely to endanger international peace and security has

not been properly characterized in the text. If it had been, the Security Council would have had to take into consideration the procedures for settlement of the dispute already adopted by the parties. Finally, we took into account the legitimate expression to the United Nations of the Governments of the countries specifically concerned that the matter under consideration is not within the Council's attributions.

The delegation of Brazil takes this opportunity to reiterate its full commitment to the promotion of peace and stability in the Middle East based on a just and comprehensive settlement in all tracks, in conformity with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973), 1397 (2002) and 1515 (2003); the Madrid terms of reference; the principle of land for peace; the existing agreements between the parties and the Arab League initiative of Beirut.

Mr. Maquieira (Chile) *(spoke in Spanish)*: The delegation of Chile voted in favour of this resolution because we share its philosophy regarding respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and the internal political process of States. Our support is also justified by the important amendments made to the original text, which made it possible to overcome some of the primary basic objections that our delegation had and which brought the resolution into line with my country's position of principle.

At the same time, the delegation of Chile wishes to state that this resolution in fact means once again a double standard in the Middle East conflict, as demonstrated by the sad lack of political will to deal with Israel's occupation of the West Bank, Gaza, and the Golan. It is also of concern that there is no mention of the peace plan, which Chile believes is the only viable mechanism for negotiations that can reduce tensions in the region and lead to a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

Mr. Gaspar Martins (Angola): My country voted in favour of this resolution, as the concerns expressed and proposed as amendments have been taken into account — though not sufficiently. This is not a perfect resolution; it is the possible resolution. It is the hope of my delegation that by adopting resolution 1559 (2004) the Security Council will be able to make an effective contribution to the strengthening of the political independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon in its territorially recognized borders. It is also our hope that its adoption will not have undesirable and unexpected effects, since the situation in Lebanon does not represent an immediate threat to peace and security.

In the view of my delegation, the approach adopted by the Security Council could have been better balanced and could have taken into account very delicate geostrategic realities of the region. The Council could also take a more proactive role in the search for a comprehensive solution to the problems prevailing in the region. My delegation would have preferred — as we expressed during the consultations on the draft resolution — to seize the opportunity for the Council to encourage the Governments of Lebanon and Syria to conclude a bilateral agreement under the auspices and guarantees of the Security Council. That approach, in the view of my delegation, might better safeguard the interests of all parties concerned and better guarantee the attainment of the objectives set by the international community, thus contributing to a better way and defusing tensions prevailing in the entire region.

Mr. Baja (Philippines): We abstained in the vote on resolution 1559 (2004) because it cannot be justified as part of the role given to the Security Council in the collective security system under the United Nations Charter. There is a fine but nevertheless clear boundary that demarcates the role of the Council in the maintenance of international peace and security as embodied in Article 39. Resolution 1559 (2004) crossed that line, and it collides head-on with the long-standing and revered principle of non-interference embodied in the Charter.

We acknowledge the generally constructive rationale of the resolution — to promote and enhance the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon. But no matter how noble and well-intentioned its motives are, resolution 1559 (2004) places the Council in a situation of acting in a manner that it seeks to excise in the first place, and that is not to interfere in what is essentially internal affairs of a country. Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter is sacrosanct. The amendments presented by the Russian Federation would have removed the resolution from a distinctly Lebanese internal affairs context.

Our action today is aimed at preserving the integrity of the United Nations Charter and its time-honoured values of sovereign equality of States and non-interference. As a founding Member, we feel a

special duty to the Organization to show resolve in defence of its Charter and principles.

Mr. Adechi (Benin) *(spoke in French)*: Benin voted in favour of resolution 1559 (2004). The initiative of the cosponsors was basically intended to help stability in Lebanon, a friendly country that is recovering from several years of civil war and has managed to restore a peaceful democracy. My country voted in favour of the draft resolution because we share the concern to reaffirm the Council's support for the sovereignty and independence of Lebanon.

Resolution 1559 (2004), just adopted, deals with the situation in the Middle East. We would like to reaffirm here our support for the efforts to bring about a comprehensive political settlement in the Middle East through the withdrawal of all foreign forces present in the countries of the region. Accordingly, we have repeatedly expressed our commitment to peace and security in that region.

The President *(spoke in Spanish)*: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 8.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5029

Security Council

Distr.: General
10 September 2004

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 5029th (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private at Headquarters, New York, on Friday, 10 September 2004, at 10.30 a.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"On 10 September 2004, the Security Council, pursuant to resolution 1353 (2001), annex II, sections A and B, held its 5029th meeting in private with the troop-contributing countries to the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE).

"The Security Council and the troop-contributing countries heard a briefing under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure by Mr. Legwaila Joseph Legwaila, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Ethiopia and Eritrea.

"Members of the Council, Mr. Legwaila and representatives of participating troop-contributing countries had a constructive exchange of views."

04-50569 (E) 100904

United Nations S/PV.5030

Security Council

Fifty-ninth year

Provisional

5030th meeting

Friday, 10 September 2004, 12.50 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo	(Spain)
Members:	Algeria	Ms. Baaziz
	Angola	Mr. Lucas
	Benin	Mr. Zinsou
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	Chile	Mr. Zalaquett
	China	Mr. Cheng Jingye
	France	Mr. Poirier
	Germany	Mr. Rotenberg
	Pakistan	Mr. Mahmood
	Philippines	Mr. Mercado
	Romania	Mr. Dumitru
	Russian Federation	Mr. Knyazev
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Brooker
	United States of America	Mr. Vrooman

Agenda

The question concerning Haiti

Report of the Secretary-General on Haiti (S/2004/698)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

04-50582 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question concerning Haiti

Report of the Secretary-General on Haiti (S/2004/698)

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Haiti in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Fils-Aimé (Haiti) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on Haiti, document S/2004/698.

After consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council.

"The Security Council extends its appreciation to participating countries of the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), and hopes that those countries that have pledged to contribute troops and civilian police will do their utmost to expedite the early deployment of their personnel.

"The Security Council notes that, while the overall situation in Haiti has improved since last February, challenges by illegal armed groups to the authority of the Transitional Government are undermining stability and security in some parts of the country.

"The Security Council condemns attempts by some illegal armed groups to perform unauthorized law enforcement functions in some Haitian cities. The Council underscores the need for the Transitional Government to extend its control and authority throughout the country. It stresses the need that MINUSTAH actively assist the Transitional Government's security institutions in addressing the activities of all illegal armed groups in accordance with the mandate provided in resolution 1542 (2004).

"The Security Council stresses the urgency of disbanding and disarming all illegal armed groups. It calls upon the Transitional Government to complete without delay the establishment of the required structures and the adoption of the required legal framework for the implementation of a national disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme. It notes that MINUSTAH will assist the Transitional Government in these efforts.

"The Security Council underlines that stability and security remain key to the political and economic reconstruction efforts of the Transitional Government and the international community. It stresses the importance of building the capacity of an effective and professional national police in Haiti. It reiterates the importance of effective coordination and cooperation between MINUSTAH and the Haitian National Police. It also underlines the urgency of improving the situation of human rights in the country, including women's rights.

"The Security Council underlines that only a comprehensive and inclusive dialogue in Haiti can lay down the foundations of a peaceful and democratic political environment. It calls upon all Haitian political actors to participate in the national dialogue, as well as in the transition and in the electoral process to occur in 2005.

"The Security Council welcomes that the Provisional Electoral Council (CEP) has marked the start of the electoral process in Haiti by holding a broad dialogue on the preparation of elections. The Council encourages the United Nations and the Organization of American States to finalize a Memorandum of Understanding

outlining election responsibilities of each organization as soon as possible.

"The Security Council reiterates that an end to impunity is key to national reconciliation in Haiti. The Council stresses that justice should apply equally to all citizens in that country and be carried out by an independent judicial system with the support of a reformed correctional system. The Council expresses its strong concern at reports of double standards in the administration of justice. The Council welcomes the intention expressed by the Transitional Government to cease travel restrictions without judicial justification in place against former civil servants and politicians. It urges the Transitional Government to end such restrictions without delay.

"The Security Council welcomes the results of the donors' conference held in Washington, D.C., on 19 and 20 July and urges for a timely disbursement of the funds pledged. The Council looks forward to the follow-up implementation meeting to be held in Port-au-Prince from 22 to 23 September, taking into account the priorities identified by the Haitian Government's Interim Cooperation Framework.

"The Security Council reiterates its support for the establishment of a Core Group to maintain the mobilization of the international community, to increase the consultation among major stakeholders to enhance the coordination and effectiveness of the assistance for Haiti, and to contribute to the definition of a long-term development strategy aimed at the promotion of lasting peace and stability in that country.

"The Security Council welcomes the appointment of Mr. Juan Gabriel Valdés as Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of MINUSTAH and commits its full support to his work."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2004/32.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.